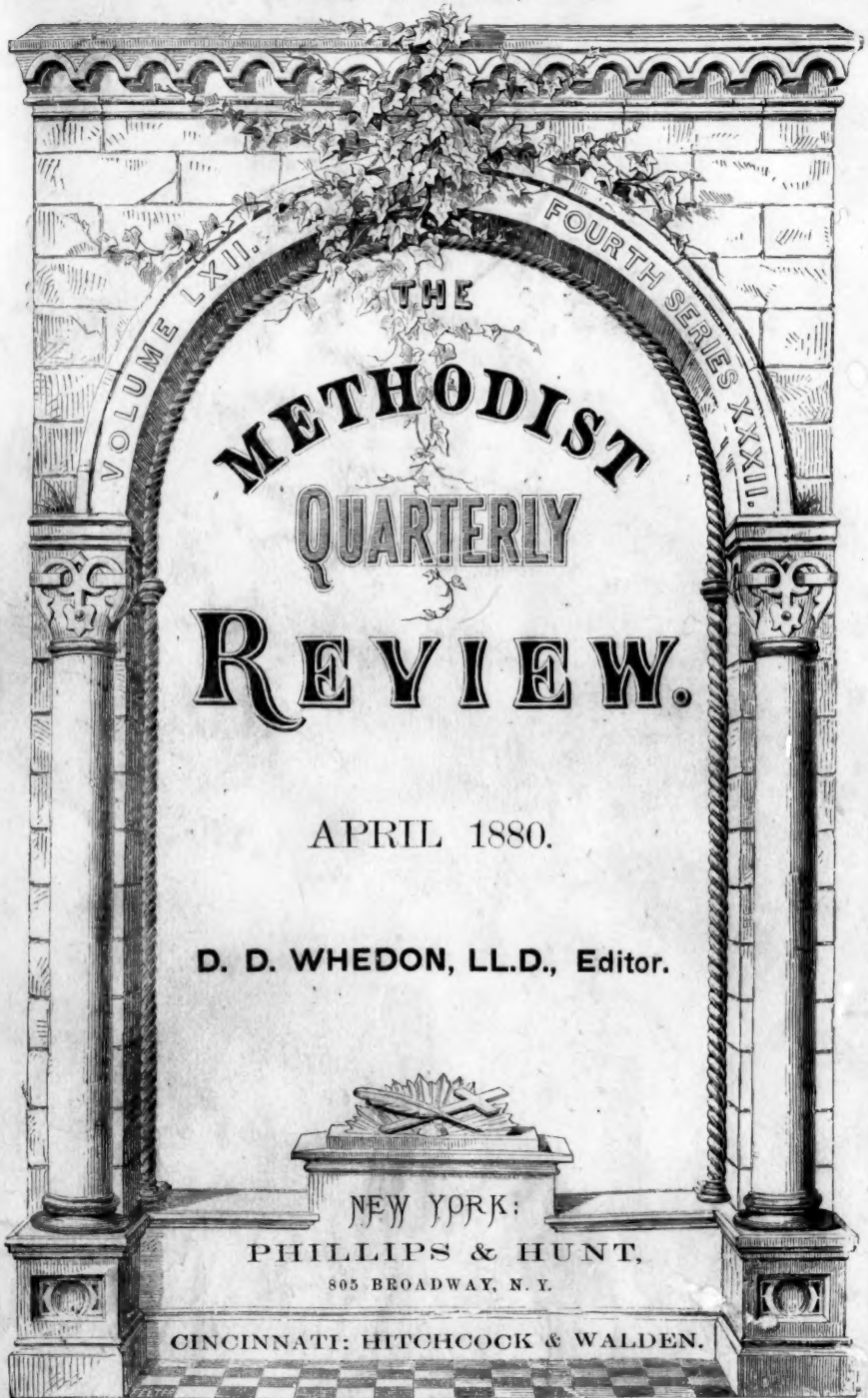


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# METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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## ART. I.—THE GLORIOUS RETURN OF THE VAUDOIS.

*Histoire de la glorieuse Rentrée des Vaudois dans leur Vallées*: Paris: Grassort, 1879.

A NOTABLE book is that which we place at the head of this article. It was mostly written by Henry Arnaud, "Pastor and Colonel of the Vaudois," a man who, preaching, praying, and fighting "for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints," would have gladdened the heart of Cromwell, and who deserves to rank among the greatest heroes of history. The recent edition of the work is, as nearly as possible, a reproduction in form, typography, etc., of the original edition, issued about a century and three quarters ago. Its full title, almost literally rendered, is "The History of the Glorious Return of the Vaudois into their Valleys, in which it will be seen that a troop of these people, less than a thousand strong, sustained a war against the King of France and the Duke of Savoy; made headway against their army of twenty-two thousand men; opened a passage through Savoy and High Dauphiny; beat many times the enemy, and at last miraculously re-entered their heritage; maintained themselves therein, arms in hand, and re-established the worship of God which had been interdicted during three years and a half. The whole compiled from memoirs which have been faithfully made of all that occurred in this war of the Vaudois," etc.

We propose to narrate, though it must be in mere outline,  
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the "Glorious Return;" but some preliminary pages are necessary. An American writer complains of the comparative ignorance of our Churches respecting the Vaudois—the most interesting people, perhaps, in the whole history of Christendom since the apostolic age. American Christians know in a vague way that somewhere in the mountains between France and Italy lived and still linger the "Waldenses;" that they have had a curiously antique history; and that, since the unification of Italy, they have been descending their mountains to propagate pure Christianity over the peninsula, for which they have peculiar advantages as Italians, with the national language for their vernacular. Only the best-informed minds among us know how surpassingly marvelous has been their history, and how equally marvelous seems their destiny; that in their valleys, up among the snows and clouds of the Cottian Alps, looking down to the south-eastward upon Italy, and to the north-westward upon France, they maintained their Church, pure in doctrine, morals and polity as that of Scotland itself, while all the rest of Europe fell away into paganized Christianity; that, according to their local traditions, their religious history dates from the time of Paul's preaching in Rome; that Paul himself possibly passed through their valleys on his way to Spain; that, at least, some of his Roman converts, or their early successors, fled at the outbreak of the persecutions to these mountains, and founded the faith which remains there to our day; that while, century after century, all the rest of the Christian world was sunk in moral death, and covered with the night of the "Dark Ages," the pure apostolic light shone undimmed on these mountain heights; that France on the one hand, Italy on the other, prompted by Rome, attempted age after age to break through the Alpine barriers and extinguish the strange heresy, as it was called; that the one terrible St. Bartholomew's of France went on here through successive generations, but in vain; that every valley, almost every cliff, has its traditions of martyrdom; that deeds of prowess by the mountaineers, hurling back whole hosts of Papal invaders, now on France, now on Italy, in at least thirty-three distinct wars, have given them an heroic history never surpassed in the military annals of any other people, dotting their territory with scores of Thermopylæ and Marathons; that, after centuries of

praying, watching, and fighting for their faith, they stood, still in arms, amid the ruins of their homes and their churches, and laid down their weapons only when a solemn pledge from the enemy conceded their rights; that this pledge was immediately violated, nearly all their heroic men imprisoned in thirteen Piedmontese dungeons, their children put in Catholic schools, their women in nunneries; that the Vaudois were at last considered extinguished, their own historians, who had fled to other countries, declaring "the ancient Church of the mountains," the "Israel of the Alps," "obliterated," "irrecoverably lost," as one of them said; that of the fourteen thousand heroic prisoners of Piedmont all died of starvation or disease save three thousand, who, liberated at last, but forbidden ever to re-enter their valleys, made their way to Protestant Switzerland and Germany; that seven or eight hundred of them afterward combined under a vow to redeem their lost cause and country, armed themselves clandestinely, marched, under the command of their pastor, Arnaud, through the most intricate ravines of Switzerland and Savoy, under the shadow of Mont Blanc, along the cliffs of Mont Cenis, through passages in which only mountaineers could make their way, with no commissariat, each man carrying his own ammunition and food, the Catholic towns and villages rising against them, but quailing before them, as if a terror from God had fallen upon the land; that France on the one hand, Italy on the other, sent armies to arrest their triumphant march, twenty-two thousand men in all; that they rolled back the enemy in victorious fights, entered their ancient valleys "with singing and shouting," fought the Catholic foe from rock to rock through months, supplying themselves with ammunition only by their victories, destroying ten thousand of the enemy in eighteen victorious attacks, winning peace at last, restoring their old homes, schools, and churches, receiving their expatriated wives and children, sheltering even their persecuting sovereign, who had to flee from his enemies below to seek their protection; and that, re-established in their mountains and enfranchised by their government, they are now bearing the Gospel over Italy, and are thus displaying before the eyes of this skeptical age the providential meaning of their history.

Such are a few mere allusions to this remarkable history—

the most remarkable, we are inclined to think, on record. We delay not to discuss the questions which have excited so much inquiry among European scholars respecting the date of the origin of the Vaudois, a date lost in the obscurity of remote time. We have mentioned their own traditions on the subject, as attested by Arnaud, in his history of the *Glorieuse Rentrée*. We know that centuries before the Reformation they were a pure Church; that their doctrines, forms of worship, Church government, show no traces of ever having been reformed, as they show none of ever having needed reform. We know, also, that as early as the fourth century St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, testifies that the Church corruptions of Italy had not penetrated these mountains, and that about one thousand one hundred and twenty-five Catholic writers allude to them as soiled by inveterate heresy. These evidences are sufficient for our present purpose, and we can now approach our main subject.

The *Glorieuse Rentrée* originated in the persecutions which attended the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Vaudois on the French side of the Cottian Alps were, of course, included in that most impolitic and disastrous measure of Louis XIV. The king was determined to extinguish Protestantism in France. According to the historian Capefigue, (himself no friend to Protestantism,) no less than two hundred and thirty thousand Protestants fled from their country to escape the persecution; nearly one thousand six hundred of these were preachers, two thousand three hundred were elders of the Churches, fifteen thousand were "gentlemen," the others mostly merchants and artisans—the best in the kingdom. Capefigue's figures were taken from official statistical returns made at the period; the emigration continued years later. Charles Coquerel says that the Revocation "kept France under a perpetual St. Bartholomew's for about sixty years," and that more than a million of the best citizens were either driven abroad, or put to death, or sent to the galleys or to dungeons. A single province (that of Languedoc) was officially reported to have sacrificed a hundred thousand by the wheel, the gibbet, or the sword. Three years before the Revocation the Protestant pastors reported to the Government one million eight hundred Protestant households in the kingdom; in about twenty-five years after the Revocation the king declared that



Protestantism was exterminated in France. His bigoted and ferocious policy had struck disastrously the best interests of his country, but it had laid the foundations of the manufacturing and commercial prosperity of the Low Countries, of England, and of much of Germany, and had given to the American colonies some of their best families, from New Rochelle to Savannah. The emigration comprised some twenty-one thousand Protestant soldiers and sailors, and six hundred military officers. Most of these entered foreign service, and avenged on France in many a battle the wrongs of their brethren. Thousands helped to save the Protestant throne of England by fighting in Ireland against the attempt of Louis XIV. to restore the apostate Stuarts. They conquered their old persecutors at the battle of the Boyne, and on other Irish fields. Marshal Schomberg was one of them. Their descendants in Germany, still bearing their ancestral names, were among the best heroes of the last war with France; and Jules Simon, the French statesman, had occasion to show his country that the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had given at least eighty eminent officers of the German staff of the terrible invasion of 1870, by which France was trodden in the dust.

The king's assertion, that there were no more Protestants in his realm, was apparently, though not really, correct. The Protestant temples were all either demolished or given to the Catholics. Protestant pastors were hanged or broken on the wheel all over the south. None remained except in concealment, and with the certainty of death if they were discovered. Their people could worship only in caves, or in recesses of forests. Never was there a more studiously minute or more diabolical edict issued by a government than the Act of Revocation, and its accompanying acts. They reached all classes and all interests of the Protestant population. It was death if they were found worshipping in public; it was the galleys for life if they were heard singing their hymns in their own houses. It was five hundred *livres* fine if they did not send their children to the Catholic priest for baptism. Protestant marriages were illegal, and their children illegitimate. All children more than five years old were to be taken by the magistrate from Protestant homes. Protestant midwives were forbidden to assist their Christian sisters in childbirth. Protestant physicians,

surgeons, druggists, lawyers, notaries, school-teachers, librarians, booksellers, printers, grocers, were all suppressed—and there were hundreds of thousands of them. All Protestant schools, charitable, public, or private, were closed. Protestants could no longer be in any government employment, even as workingmen on the highways. All Bibles and Protestant books were to be publicly burned. “There were bonfires of them,” says a good authority, “in every town.” Protestants were not allowed to seek employment as servants, nor Protestant families to hire them, the penalty being the galleys for life. Protestant mechanics were not allowed to work without certificates that they had become Catholics. Even Protestant washerwomen were interdicted the common washing-places on the rivers. “In fact,” says Samuel Smiles, our best popular authority on French Protestantism, “there was scarcely a degradation that could be invented, or an insult that could be perpetrated, that was not practiced upon these poor Huguenots who refused to be of the king’s religion.” Such was the persecution of the infamous Revocation. According to Coquerel’s figures, it drove a million of the French out of their country, and suppressed a thousand pastors, one tenth of whom were either put to death or, worse, consigned to the horrors of the galleys.

When the king supposed his work of extermination done, he was reminded of the humble Vaudois, hid away in the ravines of the French sides of the Cottian Alps. The atrocious work could not be pronounced complete while these remained. The light might again stream down from these heretic heights upon the plains and towns of southern France. They were one in faith, and in every other respect, except political allegiance, with the Italian Vaudois of the other side of the mountains. The king, therefore, demanded the co-operation of the Duke of Savoy in the extermination of both. The duke hesitated; blood enough had flowed in these mountains, and but thirty years before, fourteen thousand of their devoted population had been massacred in vain; they appeared invincible; but he had to yield to the superior sovereign, who threatened to do the bloody work himself and to appropriate the territory as his own. Thus began the thirty-third war against these unconquerable mountaineers. The armies of both nations made si-

multaneous invasions; terrible struggles ensued at three or four different points, but we cannot here detail them. On Easter Monday, 1686, a general attack was made. The pastor, Arnaud, became on this day first known as a hero—the hope of the persecuted people for the future, if not for the present. The Duke of Savoy led one attack; Catinat, with his French, another. Both were hurled back the first day; on the next, Catinat destroyed the little force opposed to him, and massacred men, women, and children. The commanders of the Italian troops sent messengers to the Vaudois at other points, assuring them that their brethren in the Valley of St. Martin had surrendered and received pardon; the positive promise of the duke, assuring them of their pardon, their lives, and liberties, was declared to them, and on this pledge they all laid down their arms, surrendering impregnable positions. Immediately the pledge was violated; they were loaded with irons, and fourteen thousand of them, according to Arnaud, were incarcerated in the prisons of Piedmont. “Their children,” says the historian Mustan, “were carried off and dispersed through Roman Catholic districts; their wives and daughters were violated, massacred, or made captives. As for those who still remained, all whom the enemy could seize became a prey devoted to carnage, spoliation, fire, excesses which cannot be told, and outrages which it would not be possible to describe.”

The great aim of the Revocation was now supposed to be accomplished. Louis XIV. declared, as we have seen, that there were no more Protestants in his realm. One of his officers in these mountains wrote that “all the valleys are now exterminated; the people all killed, hanged, or massacred.” “Rome,” says Smiles, “rang with *Te Deums* in praise of the final dispersion of the Vaudois.” The Pope congratulated the Duke of Savoy in a special brief. Roman Catholics were settled in the valleys on the lands of the dispersed Protestants. It was now that one of their historians, a refugee in London, wrote, “The world looks upon them no otherwise than as irrecoverably lost and finally destroyed.” But the Vaudois Church was inextinguishable; it was still alive in the thirteen dungeons of Piedmont. Of the fourteen thousand prisoners there, many were daily perishing by hunger, thirst, or disease, mar-

tyrs for their apparently lost cause ; eleven thousand thus perished, according to Arnaud, and the three thousand that at last came forth to wander in foreign lands looked, he says, "more like shadows than men." On reaching Protestant Switzerland they were, he adds, but "moving skeletons." The people of Geneva were affected with deepest pity for them, and as they moved along, some to Lausanne, some to Berne, to Basle, to Neufchatel, and into Germany, they were not only fed and sheltered, but many of the feebler sufferers were borne in the arms of the good citizens. Some died on the route. The scene reminded the generous Swiss of the hosts who, in the days of their fathers, had filled their highways, fleeing from the horrors of St. Bartholomew's in France, and many a devout heart sent up the appeal to heaven, "How long, O Lord! how long!" They dared not dream that these "moving skeletons" were soon to rise up like those of the "valley of vision," and bear again to their ancient mountain heights the standard of the faith, and thence march down at last with triumphant hymns to Rome itself.

Assuredly such a purpose, in such circumstances, must have been a superhuman inspiration. In the heart of the heroic Pastor Arnaud, and many others, it was strong at this very moment. The strangers were allotted settlements in several places in Switzerland and Germany, but Arnaud had whispered the bold design to some hundreds, who therefore declined remote invitations, and kept together as much as possible, to be ready for the coming hour. There was no visible hope of it, but these men had as much faith as valor. Could the cause of their Lord Christ suffer any final defeat? Why had they been sustained, fighting successfully through more than twelve hundred years against the attempted invasions of Papal corruption and trained armies? Why was almost every valley, every cave, every cliff, of their country consecrated with martyr blood? Was there no providential design in these things? Could not the Lord God of hosts raise up unknown means of salvation for them? Had not a great man, one Oliver Cromwell, the greatest sovereign who had ever ruled England, made France and Italy tremble when he threatened to interpose for them? Had he not refused to sign a treaty with France till the alarmed Mazarin consented

to join his intervention? Had not a greater man, his secretary, one John Milton, the greatest poet of the nations, written for them, and thrilled Europe with his indignant words:

"Avenge, O Lord! thy slaughtered saints, whose bones  
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold," etc.?

And was there not a great man rising, in the Protestant North, William of Orange, the enemy of their enemy, and one who could aid them? But what if no help were apparent? Could God's "almightiness," as John Milton delighted to say, could this fail? Had he not rescued their valleys time and again? Therefore they silently, but bravely, passed the word along their new, scattered settlements: "The valleys can and shall be rescued again. We can march into them under the Captain of our salvation—and, if need be, under him alone." They found in Geneva "the old Vaudois hero, Javanel, who had done many a brave deed in the valley. He was now too aged, and too disabled by wounds, to return, but he planned their campaign, and bade them fight it out. "You will be told," he said, "that all France and Italy will be gathered against you. But were it the whole world, and only yourselves against all, fear ye the Almighty alone; he is your protection."

The secret must be sacredly kept, for the Protestant Governments which now sheltered them had delicate relations with France and Savoy which ought not to be compromised. Three faithful men were sent to spy out the land and report on the route. Arnaud went to Holland and consulted William of Orange, and obtained funds for the outfit of arms, and other provisions. Twice they started on their march, and had to abandon it and return—their own Protestant friends, the cantonal authorities, interposing and warning them back. Arnaud, though of undaunted courage, had a sagacious eye, and saw that the hour had not yet come; but he did not allow them to disperse the second time without inspiring their hope by a sermon at Bex on the text, "Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

They now waited more than a year, to allay public suspicion, before resuming the attempt. But at last, in August, 1689, they secretly assembled in a woods back of Nyon, on the northern shore of Lake Lemman, and, with prayer and preaching



from Arnaud, hastily organized. Between eight and nine hundred were there. The secret had been well kept, but the neighboring peasants were wondering at the strange gathering, and reports would immediately get to the municipal authorities. Curiosity to learn what was going on in the forest attracted some fifteen boats to the neighboring shore. Arnaud saw his opportunity. After prayer, at the head of the little army, he ordered the boats to be seized; their owners were compelled to row them across the lake to the Savoy shore. The first passage was successfully made by two o'clock on the night of August 16-17, but the boatmen, fearing for their lives on the Catholic coast, on returning for the remainder escaped up and down the lake. There could be no delay for the waiting two hundred; the transported little force, now but about seven hundred, were in the enemy's country. They were arrayed in three divisions—main column, vanguard, and rear guard—comprising nineteen companies under select captains. They had plenty of officers, but Arnaud was effectively their leader. They were near Yvoire, and they knew that the alarm would be spread by daylight through the country. They must pray and march immediately. One of their three pastors went in search of a guide, but was taken prisoner by the authorities and sent to Chambéry. They immediately summoned Yvoire to surrender, threatening to burn it if it did not; it had to open its gates and give up three of its functionaries as hostages, to be marched with the Vaudois to the next town, and to be sent back only when they could be substituted by new hostages—a policy which was maintained throughout the campaign.

And now commenced this wondrous march, the *Glorieuse Rentrée*—compared with which Xenophon's "Retreat of the Ten Thousand" was an insignificant feat. The little army had no commissariat, as we have said, each man carrying his own provision of food and ammunition—they had no animals—none but chamois could go where they had to go; had no drums—even these would have been an incumbrance; their only music was that of trumpets and psalms. It reminds us of that night when the Hebrews began their march for the Holy Land, "that night of the Lord, to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations."

They moved rapidly, but in unbroken order and with un-



shakable resolution; and their determined bearing struck with awe the hostile populations through which they advanced. They knew that they must sometimes use desperate expedients, but they hesitated before none that were necessary; they must seize their food as they passed, but they scrupulously paid for it with the money sent them from Holland. They could take no prisoners, save hostages; for how could they feed them or guard them through the Alpine passes? and they might soon be more numerous than themselves. They must dispatch them on the spot, and give no quarter in battle. Their whole route lay through the territory of the Catholic Government which had attempted their extermination; woe to any man who should challenge them! Few words, decisive acts, were all that could be possible. A desperate Puritanic rigor was their only policy, and it was grimly expressed in all their features and bearing. The Catholic populations could not mistake them, and recoiled, or obsequiously supplied their needs. Even the priests sometimes laid down their stores before them, and bade them go on "in the name of God." From town to town they took the nobles of the castles, the priests, or the leading citizens, as hostages; it was submission or death; the first alternative was always chosen, for there could not be a momentary doubt of the determined earnestness of the Vaudois. They sometimes had forty or more hostages, and had no little trouble with the *curés* and *fat friars*, who puffed and halted in their difficult mountain climbings. On the first day of the march four "gentlemen," or Savoyard knights, "on horse, well armed and followed by peasants," confronted them, demanding wherefore they advanced in this array, and proudly commanding them to lay down their arms. There was but one reply: "Down from your steeds and march with us, our hostages!" Mounting a hill, they saw two hundred armed peasants awaiting them, commanded by a Savoyard nobleman. They dispersed them at a blow, broke to pieces their arms, and took some of them as guides, "with the menace," says Arnaud, "of being hung to the first tree if they should be found unfaithful." Their commanders wrote to the municipalities beyond that the Vaudois were honest, paying for all they took, demanding only a passage. They prayed their fellow-citizens not to sound the tocsin, and not to appear in arms. Accordingly, during this

day the people on the way met them with provisions. They halted at Viù, where they were treated with bread and wine, and then resumed their march in the moonlight. At St. Jayre the frightened magistrates had rolled out a hogshead of wine for them into the street, but "some drank not, fearing it was poisoned." They marched on till midnight, when they sent back their hostages, and, taking a brief sleep on the ground, after prayer, were early again on their way; for it was necessary to hasten; all the country was now in alarm, and the French and Italian troops were in motion to intercept them. They reach the town of Cluse, in the valley of the Arve. Mont Blanc towers sublimely above them. The town is walled, and the people hostile; the municipal authorities threaten them, and bar the gates; "but it is necessary," says Arnaud, "to traverse this town." The inhabitants are under arms and line the *fosses*, and the peasants are descending the surrounding mountains with resounding shouts. There is but a prompt word from the Vaudois; they must pass, if they have to break the walls, and go on by fire and sword. Their hostages, fearing for their own lives, write to the municipality to save them; the gates open, and the little troop marches in triumph through lines, on either side of the street, of awe-struck citizens under arms. Beyond the town bread and wine are sent to them; the Vaudois send back money in payment. The leading citizens, admiring their chivalry, or glad for their own escape, send a polite invitation to the officers to return and dine with them; but there is no time for such courtesies. They forcibly take new hostages, and march on for Salanches. They defile through a narrow valley, inaccessible mountains on one side, the Arve, swollen by rains and impassable, on the other. "Stones rolled down the steeps could," writes Arnaud, "have wiped out an army." Here they face a town, a castle, and a force of armed peasants, but the latter are content to let them pass unmolested, though they bear off the nobleman of the chateau and his priest as hostages. They have now twenty of these necessary incumbrances—the first men of the country hitherto.

As they approached Salanches they heard the tocsin ringing; they must cross a bridge to reach the town, and it was defended by armed men. They rushed forward, and the enemy fled. Once across, the Vaudois formed in order of battle, for six hun-

dred troops were before them. Terror fell upon the town and its defenders. Four monks were sent to parley with them, and offered them passage and two hostages if they would release the forty now with them and hasten away. This was all the Vaudois wished; but when the two hostages appeared they were found to be poverty-stricken townsmen, *deux misérables*, says Arnaud. The monks, seeing him indignant, attempted to escape; he seized two of them and "enrolled them in the company of hostages," and "it is proper to say," he adds, "that they were of great advantage to us afterward, for their remonstrances, prayers, and intercessions with the enemy on our farther passage were so efficacious, we were astonished at the power of these good fathers over their co-religionists." Threatening now to burn the town, they were allowed to pass on, and encamp a league beyond, where they slept under a drenching rain, but "thanking God," says Arnaud, "that the storm probably kept the enemy from rallying" in pursuit of them. The next three days were terrible, by the weather and the steepes they had to climb. French troops awaited them in the valley of the Isère, and they must evade them, if possible. Purchasing ample provision from the peasants, they resolutely moved on, sometimes passing through villages which were deserted by their frightened inhabitants; at others, meeting armed populations which fled before them. The rain drenched them; they waded through snow "up to their knees;" they scaled Lez Pras and Haute Luce mountains, seven thousand feet above the sea; on the latter they were lost in the clouds, "by which God hid the Vaudois from the eyes of their enemies." The "good and holy exhortations of Arnaud animated," says one of his companions, "the courage of the troops under all sorts of miseries in this place, mounting and descending on steps cut in the rock, where twenty persons could have overthrown an army of twenty thousand." They ascended, or rather, says the history, "crawled up the Col Bonhomme, knee-deep in snow, the rain on their backs," and, standing at last on the heights of the Alps, beheld the valley of Isère, in which the French troops were prepared for them. Descending to it, they turned into the valley of Tignes, and thus escaped the enemy. Arriving at the base of Mont Iseran, they thanked God and rested a few hours, Arnaud having had no sleep for about a

week. Besides all the horrors of the weather and the mountains which they passed through in these days, they encountered in some places hostile peasant forces; they heard the tocsin, "a horrible clatter," says Arnaud, "of all the steeples;" they had to break over barricaded paths guarded by armed mountaineers; they passed over fortifications which had been erected in anticipation of their former advance; they were now deserted, but they were so situated that a small force could have annihilated the little army—their failure a year before had saved them.

The next day, as they passed over Mont Iseran, word reached them that troops awaited them at the foot of Mont Cenis. "Instead of alarming us," says Arnaud, "this news inflamed our hearts, for, knowing that the strength of our arms depended absolutely on God, for whose glory we fought, we doubted not that he could open our way against all who should attempt to close it." They advanced to Besas, where an insolent mob defied them; they seized their chatelain, their priest, and six of the people, and marched on. The seventh day (Friday, 23) they ascended Mont Cenis; some of their scouts seized the baggage mules of the Cardinal Ranuzzi, the papal nuncio in France, who had passed on another route to Rome to assist at the election of a pope. The spoils were rich, but all were given back to the muleteers, except some papers which exposed the designs of the French king. The loss of these documents defeated, it is reported, the hope of the cardinal for the papacy, and he died of mortification, exclaiming, "*My papers, O my papers!*"

The little army traversed the Grande and the Petite Cenis through appalling suffering—"surpassing the imagination," says Arnaud. The snow was deep, they lost their way, were enveloped with clouds. They were overtaken by night, and not a few sank down exhausted and were left behind, but rejoined the main body the next day in the Valley of the Gaillon. Again climbing the steep, they could see the mountain outposts of their native valleys. They were approaching the large and fortified towns. Before them stood Exilles; to their left, Susa. The struggle onward had been terrible thus far, but now came the real tug of war. Twenty-two thousand French and Italian trained troops were before them, and the seven hun-

dred must soon encounter their outposts. But the heroic band advanced, says Arnaud, "with intrepid courage." They attempted to evade the garrison of Exilles through a lateral ravine, but the French troops and peasants fired from the steep upon them, and rolled down rocks; the way became impassable; they lost several men, and had to retire, and attempt to turn, in another direction, the heights occupied by the enemy. They soon heard drums, and saw the garrison marching to intercept them. Descending the valley of the Doire, they saw before them, on and beyond a bridge, nearly four times their own number, twenty-five hundred troops, with all the provisions of war. What was now to be done? They must pass through this force or go back. The night was falling; could they dare to rush across the guarded bridge and plunge into this armed host in the darkness? They counseled and prayed together. Forward was the final, the only, word. They advanced in the darkness, and encountered a formidable body of French at the bridge, under the command of Colonel de Larrey. They heeded not a shout from the enemy to halt; they received a volley, and three fell; they rushed on the bridge, sweeping all before them. Arnaud's sharp eye saw on the other side the main body preparing to fire, and quickly cried out, "Down!" They bowed, and the volley passed over them. "Forward, the bridge is ours!" cried one of his captains, and the Vaudois leaped to their feet, and pressed onward under the fire of the whole French force. They threw themselves upon it, broke its line, and prostrated it every-where. The day, or rather the night, was gloriously won. The whole two thousand five hundred French were dispersed or killed, for no quarter could be given. "Is it possible," cried the commander, a French marquis, "that I have lost both the battle and my honor!" He escaped wounded, and was carried to Briançon. Seven hundred of the enemy lay dead on the earth when the moon, breaking through the night, enabled the victors to survey the field—one for every man of their own force. The latter had lost but fifteen killed and twelve wounded. Valor and impetuosity had made up for their lack of numbers. They had taken the camp of the enemy, and were thus supplied abundantly with ammunition and other provisions.

And now occurred a memorable scene. The Greeks erected



monumental trophies on the fields of their victories; these mountaineers cared for no such commemorations; but there, under the shadow of the everlasting hills, in the moonlight, they threw up a trophy befitting the occasion—a pyramid of all the baggage and arms of the enemy beyond what they could carry, over barrels of powder, and withdrawing, after touching a match, saw the heavens illuminated and felt the earth tremble under an explosion which sent among the heights reverberation such as the Alps probably never echoed before, nor since. It was heard, says the history, even in the city of Briançon, in France. As the echoes rolled along the mountain peaks the trumpets sounded, and the victors “threw,” writes Arnaud, “their hats toward heaven, and made the air resound with the shout, ‘Glory be to the God of armies, who hath given us the victory over all our enemies!’”

All but six of their forty hostages escaped in the confusion of this battle. The little troop needed rest, for during three days they had marched “day and night;” but there might arrive new foes at any hour; they employed, therefore, the remainder of “this glorious night to climb, by the favor of the moon, the mountain of Sci,” and penetrate to the valley of Pragelas. They would thus be in the Vaudois mountains.

They had, in one week and one day, made their way through a hostile country, through the most difficult mountain passes, through rains and snows, and through armed enemies, to the very gates of their own mountains. On the ninth day, Sunday morning, they stood far up on the heights, looking down upon Fenestrelles, and before them lay their ancient homes, their consecrated valleys, now occupied by Papists, and desecrated by more than twenty thousand French and Italian troops waiting for their coming. Arnaud ordered the force to be gathered around him, and pointed to the peaks of their beloved mountains, “exhorting them to thank God, who, after they had passed through such miraculous deliverances, permitted them once more to see their old homes.” He then offered a prayer “which animated them all anew.” Forthwith they marched down into the valley of Pragelas, and encamped before the church. Though it is the Sabbath, there is no mass to-day in all the valley, for the “priests, thinking only of their own safety, had taken to flight.” They march on toward



the valley of St. Martin, driving before them some of the dragoons of the enemy, and spend the night on the highest settled point of the Col du Pis. The next morning they discover, at the foot of the mountain, Italian troops, "well arrayed." They pause that Arnaud may pray, which he does "with loud voice and great devotion," and then they move in three columns on the enemy, who take to flight, leaving all their baggage to the Vaudois. The pass was thus opened to the strongest hold in all their mountains, the "famous Balsille," a natural mountain fortification, with but a single approach, with three almost inaccessible terraces, with caverns cut into its rocky sides, the old asylums of the persecuted mountaineers, now convenient barracks and magazines, and with fountains of good water. Hardly had they reached this important refuge when they perceived a company of Italian troops appearing in another part of the valley to hold the pass. The Vaudois rushed upon them, took them, and, after a council of war, "exhorting them to pray to God," slew them all—a half hundred men, lacking two. It was a grim, an atrocious policy, but the enemy had necessitated it by establishing it. All the Vaudois who had been taken prisoners had been immediately hanged; no rights of war were allowed them. If they were not disposed to retaliate, they nevertheless had no means of guarding their prisoners, and to release them was only to reinforce the enemy.

The twelfth day is entitled in the history the "Day of Consolation," for they advanced to Pralis, and, after burning a new Catholic chapel, took possession of one of their own old churches, and, divesting it of its Romish paraphernalia, worshiped there again the God of their fathers for the first time since their expulsion. They sung the Seventy-fourth Psalm, an appropriate war-song. Arnaud stood in the door-way, addressing them, within and without, from the One Hundred and Twenty-ninth Psalm: "Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth, may Israel now say: many a time have they afflicted me from my youth, yet they have not prevailed against me. . . . Let them all be confounded and turned back that hate Zion." Arnaud writes, It was remarkable that this first public worship of the returned Vaudois was in the temple served by Pastor Leidet, who three years before was hanged

for the faith in the fort of St. Michael. The whole force sang the Psalm upon which Arnaud preached, and prepared to march onward.

On the next day, August 29, after prayer, they advanced for the valley of Luzerne, and had to pass over the Col Julian. They captured on the way the Marquis de Parelle, an important officer of the enemy. All the country was now swarming with the hostile troops. They soon met their vanguard, who shouted to them, "Come on, come on, ye barbets of the devil; we have seized all the forts, and are more than thirty thousand." But the Vaudois drove them back, charged on the fortified position of their main force, and in half an hour dispersed them all, taking their camp, baggage, and ammunition, even to the "rich habits" of their commanders, and losing but one of their own heroes, whose name the historian deems worthy to be recorded, Joshua Mandan, a "valiant man," whom they buried with honors "under a rock." The victors pursued the flying foe as far as the "Passarelles de Julien," and took and slew thirty-one of them. They found, also, the horse of the commander, with his pistols yet on the saddle; the overthrow was complete. The pursuit was continued on the next day, driving them out of Bobi, where the heroes took possession of their ancient homes, expelling the Catholic intruders who had occupied them some three years. "Thus," says Smiles, their English historian, "thus, after a lapse of only fourteen days, this little band of heroes had marched from the shores of the Lake of Geneva, by difficult mountain passes, through bands of hostile troops, which they had defeated in two severe fights, and at length reached the very center of the Vaudois valleys, and entered into possession of the promised land."

Here an impressive solemnity ensued. The next day was Sunday, September 1; a pulpit was extemporized on the rocks, and one of the pastors, (Montaux,) mounting it, preached on Luke xvi, 16. Arnaud then proclaimed "with a loud voice" an oath, to which all responded, "lifting their hands to God," and swearing "before the face of the living God and at the damnation of our souls" not to succumb, "even if reduced to three or four men," but to persist in "re-establishing the reign of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, even unto death." They stood on the hill of Silaoud, and the surrounding mountains—

the witnesses, through centuries, of the persecutions of their fathers—reverberated their chant of the Seventy-fourth Psalm, “sung to the clash of arms.”

Meanwhile they knew that their worst trials were yet before them. The enemy was pressing in upon them from all sides. It would not do for them to shut themselves up yet in any stronghold; not even in the nearly impregnable Balsille, for they could be starved out. They must march and fight through all the country; either they or the multitudinous enemy must apparently be utterly overthrown before the unparalleled struggle could end. The latter was the only alternative they thought of amid the tremendous odds. The combined armies of France and Italy were not only more than twenty thousand strong, but the Catholic peasants were impressed into their service. The little force must fight back nearly thirty-five times their own number. Their only commissariat must be foragings on the herds and stores of the Catholic usurpers of their old lands. They must fight the enemy with the enemy's own ammunition, won by incessant assaults. Never did heroes confront worse odds than those now before them. The narrator may well wax dithyrambic over such a story. But how can we go on with it in our restricted limits? We have been, thus far, gleaning only salient facts from a hundred and fifty pages of Arnaud, the pastor-colonel; more than two hundred of his most thrilling pages remain; but we have followed the gallant little army into the very heart of their old mountain homes; we can only summarize the remaining and the bravest part of their campaign.

They had struggled through half a month; they were to struggle on through nearly ten months more. “The war now became,” says Smiles, “one of reprisals and mutual devastations, the two parties seeking to deprive each other of shelter and the means of subsistence. Armies concentrated on the Vaudois from all points. They were pressed by the French on the north and west, by the Piedmontese on the south and east, furnished with all the munitions of war.” They fight from valley to valley, from cliff to cliff, “now in one place, and perhaps the next day some twenty miles across the mountains, in another, with almost invariable success. It seems little short of miraculous.” They divide their small force to carry

on the struggle in separate valleys, sometimes without knowing each other's fate for weeks together. Their clothing has become rags; they often scale heights on their hands and feet; they are sometimes famishing by lack of provisions. They take many prisoners who have to die; but one of them they discover to be a surgeon; him they spare, providentially for him and themselves; they retain him for their own wounded, and he serves them well, for he knows that instant death would be the consequence of any unfaithfulness. At another time, while Arnaud is praying, the sentinels see the enemy moving to secure a necessary post on the mountain of Vachère; the pastor abridges his prayer, and sends a detachment, who "made such diligence and bore themselves so well that they gained the post in the face of the enemy, slaying a hundred of them without losing a man." At one time their leader, Arnaud, is separated from them and seems lost, but "after praying three times with six soldiers who remain with him, he is able to re-join the band on the mountain of Vendalin." His fellow-pastor, Montaux, is not so fortunate; he is captured and sent to prison in Turin, where he languished till the end of the war.

A sadder trial came upon them; most of the French Vaudois gave up in despair, and retired with Turrel, their chief, down into France. Turrel had been the nominal head of the army, though Arnaud was its real leader, its Leonidas. The retreating band were nearly all captured by the enemy, and killed or sent to the galleys, where they and their leader perished. Smiles can almost apologize for them. "Flesh and blood," he says, "could not endure such toil and privations much longer. No wonder that the faint-hearted began to despair." But the Italian Vaudois knew no despair. Arnaud prayed and preached on, and their diminished numbers fought on and conquered almost from day to day.

Winter was at hand, and they must provide for it. They cut their way through the enemy toward their ancient stronghold of the Balsille. They never could have reached it again had it not been for their knowledge of the mountain passes, and their ability to climb; the enemy was waiting for them in all the surrounding valleys, but they scaled the intervening heights by night, and stood in the dawn on the Balsille, above all the hostile hosts.

Here they immediately laid in provisions by foraging on the neighboring farms, and prepared for the winter and for their fiercest struggle. They made stronger every point of their naturally strong position by barricades and intrenchments one above the other. The winter begins early in these mountains, and lasts long; it was now November; it is difficult for armies to operate at any time in the valleys; it was now next to impossible; but the honor of two great sovereigns was concerned in the desperate struggle; among their troops were regiments who had won distinction on historic fields; they were led by eminent officers, who were mortified by the superior valor and success of these "devil's barbets;" and, above all, the faith was dishonored. It would not do to give up, and the contest went on more or less amid the indescribable horrors of an Alpine winter. "Through six months the Vaudois beat back every force that was sent against them." Arnaud "preached twice," says the history, "every Sunday, and once every Thursday, and prayed with them every morning and evening, very seriously, all kneeling with their faces on the earth." "They had an unshakable resolution to await with firm foot the enemy, and to no more fatigue themselves in wandering from mountain to mountain, as they had done." The repeated assaults of the enemy failing, they had to retire to Maneille and Perier for a season, confounded and profoundly chagrined. They burned all the houses and barns around, to deprive the Vaudois of provisions, and cried in departing, "You shall see us again at Easter." The Vaudois, now only four hundred, by the absence of some of their brethren in a distant valley, "commenced to respire again." "They could say with reason," adds Arnaud, "that the eternal God had declared himself for them."

Meanwhile favorable overtures are made to them, but they know too well the treachery of the enemy to accept them. They send out frequent detachments for forage; they slay the enemy at his outposts and burn his outer barracks. At last, on April 30, 1690, while Arnaud is preaching, the foe is seen thronging up the valley and on all the neighboring summits. Their position was entirely surrounded. The struggle was recommenced "under the directions of General Catinat in person." "The enemy," says Arnaud, "to the number of twenty-two thousand, (ten thousand French, and twelve thousand Ital-



ians,) sent a detachment of five hundred men, selected by Catinat to open the attack. On May 2 they reached the first bastion, which had been covered with prostrate trees. They supposed that they had only to draw away the trees and their way would be clear, but they found them made sure by heavy stones. Then commenced so grand a fire from the Vaudois that they prostrated the assailants to the earth. It was a thing surprising, the hail-storm of balls which filled the air; the younger Vaudois recharged the arms, while the older fired, in-somuch that there was a continual fire, abyssing the enemy, "while a snow-storm played upon them." At last the Vaudois made a sortie, and slew the whole assaulting column except ten or twelve, who escaped without hats or arms to report their defeat to the mortified Catinat. "We must sleep in these barracks to-night," had said in the morning their commander, Colonel de Parat; he was now wounded and taken prisoner, and, after being kept some time in the Balsille, was put to death. The enemy lost a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and other officers—twenty in all. Not a single Vaudois was killed or wounded on this "bloody day," as Arnaud calls it. "The French retreated in astonishment to Macee; the Piedmontese, who had been spectators of the bravery of the Vaudois, holding their only way of escape, retired to Champ la Salse." Arnaud preached after the victory, the tears flowing from his eyes, and his flock weeping around him.

General Catinat was not willing to risk his honor by risking another defeat; he was hoping for the marshal's baton, and it evidently could never be earned here; he committed the desperate work to the Marquis de Fenguieres, who determined on thorough measures, and was saluted beforehand as "the conqueror of the barbets." By May 12 the position of the Vaudois was again surrounded; the neighboring mountains were planted with artillery completely commanding it, and threatening to batter it to fragments; all the outletting valleys were occupied. Five corps of disciplined troops bore down upon it, each man preceded by a pioneer, who bore for him a protection against the fire of the Vaudois. The day of consummate trial for the little corps had now come, and they could fully appreciate it; but they swerved not; God had been with them, would he now desert them? They could see no way of escape, but



had it not seemed that the angels of heaven had protected them, that the very "stars had fought for them in their courses," and could they not still expect miraculous deliverance? A French writer, in contemplating their condition, says, "We know not in all history a more striking illustration of the phrase, 'Nothing is impossible to him that believeth.' Faith transformed them into heroes, and rendered them invincible." Each man knew that defeat now meant death for each. Yet no man spoke of capitulation. The Marquis de Fenguieres, having arranged all his positions for an overwhelming attack, again sent overtures to them. "What is your demand?" asked the Vaudois of the messenger. "That you surrender at once," was the reply; "if you do so, you shall be accorded passports to a foreign country, and five hundred *louis d'or* each; if you do not you must all perish." "That shall be as the Lord will," was their answer. The commander wrote to Arnaud again, offering favorable terms, but declaring that if they were declined every man taken alive should be hanged. Arnaud wrote back: "We are not under your French king; he is not master of this country; we can make no treaty with your messieurs; we are in the heritage that our fathers have possessed in all times, and we shall, by the help of the Lord God of armies, live and die here, should there remain only ten men of us. If your cannon fire, our rocks will not be frightened, and we know how to return your fire." That very night the Vaudois made a sortie, slaying a number of the enemy. The marquis ordered his guns to be pointed on Mont Guigneverte, his most formidable position, and hung out a white flag, and soon after a red one, to signify that there would be no hope after he began to fire. Finally, on May 14, the guns began to play destructively upon the Vaudois' position; it had been gallantly held for nearly seven months, but the rocky defenses were now crumbling under powerful artillery. The assailing columns attacked the Vaudois at three points, "pouring upon us," says Arnaud, "an incessant hail-storm, so thick that, after a hundred thousand shot, we had to abandon our lowest terrace." It was no longer tenable, but they ascended to a higher one, under protection of a thick mist, which saved them from the fire of a redoubt, which might have swept them to destruction. They fought on till nightfall, but it was now seen that the

stronghold would be battered into ruins and overwhelmed; they must escape or be lost. How to escape was the question. They were encompassed by tens of thousands of troops and hostile peasants; all known passes were occupied by the enemy; if seen the next day attempting to escape, their little troop could be instantly annihilated. "The night fires of the enemy," writes Arnaud, "were blazing all around; the obstacles seemed invincible. In fine, we saw that the hand of God could alone deliver us. Committing ourselves to him, we learned very soon that he who had rescued us from so many dangers had now led us into this extremity only the better to show in what manner he could save us." One of their number was a native of this very region; he reported to them that he knew a solitary and very perilous path through which he might be able to guide them. The enemy's watch-fires enabled him to see from the Balsille that there was no other outlet for them. "It was," says the history, "along a frightful precipice." But how were they to get out of the Balsille and reach it, under the universal fire which they might expect from the enemy? "Precisely," says Arnaud, "at the moment which seemed fatal with a cruel and appalling death, a thick mist (such is common in these mountains) fell upon them," and rendered their movements invisible to the enemy. They marched silently out of the Balsille, under their mountain guide, Captain Paulat—"under the protection," continues Arnaud, "of heaven and the guidance of this brave captain." Stealthily they crept along the precipice of the ravine, "on hands and knees, taking hold of shrubs to rest at moments and take breath; those in front carefully feeling the way with feet and hands to be sure of safe footing." Paulat had to order them to take off their shoes, lest the enemy's outposts should hear them, for they had to pass close by some of these. A slight noise actually brought back the challenge of a sentinel, "Who goes there?" It was a critical moment for them; they maintained breathless silence, and the sentinel, hearing no reply, supposed he had deceived himself, and did not repeat his *qui vive*. They pressed forward, scaling a part of the Guigneverte, and drawing toward Salse—the friendly mist still covering them until ten o'clock in the morning, when they were out of danger. They had encountered an outpost of the enemy on a slope of the Guigneverte, but

the alarmed soldiers fled in all haste to their main force; for no one knew what to make of them, all supposing the Vaudois to be hermetically sealed up and doomed in the Balsille. Unutterable was the mortification of the French when, at the rising of the mist, they approached the Balsille to take it, and found that their expected prey had all escaped. "Looking," says Smiles, "across the valley, far off, they saw the fugitives thrown into relief by the snow, amid which they marched like ants, apparently making for the mass of the central Alps." The enemy had written to the city of Pignerol that they might look there for the Vaudois as prisoners to be hanged the next day; the expectant people saw arrive instead only wagons loaded with wounded and dying.

This was the grand crisis of the *Glorieuse Rentrée*—its climax. After many fights in most of the valleys, after repeatedly hurling back the combined forces of Italy and France from the Balsille, through long months, they still stood triumphant on their mountain tops.

No man of them could now doubt that the God of armies was leading them, and would lead them, however mysteriously, to a successful issue. And yet they could discern no signs of that issue. Their country was still thronged with armed enemies. They themselves were but a handful—though apparently invincible. What next? was the anxious question. But that belonged to the responsibility of their Divine Commander. They must leave it to him; what they had to do was still to pray, march, and fight. They go on, mounting precipices by steps which they cut in the hard snow. On the summit of Mont Galmon they pause for rest, review their forces, and, sending their sick and wounded under care of a surgeon to a secret shelter, descend hastily into concealment in the woods of Serrelemi to await the night. Another thick mist providentially covering them, they resume their march, and attain a height where they expected to find water with which to boil their food, for they have fasted long; but there is none there. "Heaven," says Arnaud, "seeing our need, compassionately sent us rain." The next day, having early extinguished their fires that the enemy might not discover them, they advance to Prajet, where they conceal themselves in deserted barns for rest, but without daring to make fires; there, after prayer by Arnaud, a spy is

sent out to see if troops are near; he finds them at Rodaret. Another fog favoring them, they hasten forward; at intervals, when it breaks, they lie extended on the earth till it thickens again, and thus make their way to Fayet by midnight, having "suffered incredible pains, creeping along dangerous precipices, and holding on to bushes to prevent falls into the abysses."

They afterward descended into the village of Rüa, where they found the enemy with all the inhabitants intrinched in the church cemetery. Arnaud led an attack upon them, slaying fifty-seven, taking their commander, the *Sieur de Vignaux*, and three lieutenants, prisoners, and burning down the village. The Vaudois supplied themselves here abundantly with cattle, and marched on to the mountain of Angrogone. There, with no apparent end to their perplexities and conflicts, but equally no end to their resolution, astonishing news reached them. The God in whom alone they trusted had confounded all their enemies. The two sovereigns who had combined to exterminate them, given up to "judicial blindness," had quarreled, and had declared war against each other. A strange, an incredible providence it at first seemed, even to these praying heroes, whose faith, like their valor, had hitherto seemed superior to any surprise. Now messages were sent from each hostile party, entreating their alliance and aid. They took sides with their own sovereign, badly as he had treated them. The Italian officers were soon with them, hearty in congratulations and friendship. The remainder of their fighting was side by side with their late Italian foes, against the French, and it was not long before they swept the latter out of all their mountains. Arnaud hastened down into Italy, to the camp of his sovereign, where he was received with honors. All the Vaudois prisoners, both in the mountains and below, were set free and rejoined their brethren to fight the French; "and our joy was redoubled," says the history, "when one of them brought word that, among other kind things said to them by the duke, he assured them that henceforth they might preach their faith every-where, even in his capital of Turin." "It is the work of God," exclaimed Arnaud; "to him alone be the glory!" "Eight persons out of every ten who hear these surprising and miraculous things will," he later wrote, "consider them as fables and tales of the old times."

A remarkable historic coincidence had been taking place. William of Orange, the friend of these heroes, had ascended the throne of England, and, while they were confounding with miracles of faith and valor the troops of the royal author of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in these mountain heights, their Huguenot brethren, refugees from France, led by Marshal Schomberg, himself a refugee, were fighting for William, in Ireland, against the attempt of Louis XIV. to restore the Stuarts and Popery in England. On the very day in which Arnaud stood in the camp of his reconciled sovereign, the representative of his delivered people, the battle of the Boyne was fought, July 1, and the hopes of the Stuart dynasty extinguished forever.

On July 5 Arnaud was in the capital, Turin, and wrote to a friend in Switzerland: "His royal highness gives us complete liberty, and desires only the peace of the country. We wish, therefore, all our people immediately to return. Great miracles has God wrought for us in the last ten months. None but he alone knows, or ever can know, the struggles we have had, the horrible combats; but our enemies have failed; when they supposed we were theirs, the great God of armies has always given us the victory. We have not lost thirty men in these battles; our enemies have lost about ten thousand."

Their friends and most of the outer world had known little or nothing of their fate during much of the time, but supposed they must perish. One of them, who had kept a journal of their movements, had been captured and sent to prison in Turin. His journal was secretly conveyed to Switzerland, and excited such enthusiasm that an army of a thousand Protestants, ambitious to share in their heroic deeds, was soon moving to fight its way to them in the mountains; but it failed, and was not needed.

The victorious mountaineers had sustained at least eighteen distinct attacks. But three hundred and sixty-seven of them held the Balsille during the eight months' siege, "shut in," says Arnaud, "by ten thousand French and twelve thousand Piedmontese, living on little bread and herbs," hurling back assault after assault, and at last escaping, "when the enemy had provided executioners and mules loaded with cords in order to hang them."

But the trial was over; the *Glorieuse Rentrée* was accom-



plished. The "Israel of the Alps" was saved. The Vaudois families returned from Switzerland, Germany, Holland. Their temples and schools were re-opened, and their mountains echoed again their ancient hymns. Their own sovereign, suffering at first reverses in his war below, had to fly to them for refuge, and was loyally protected in their valleys. Their Catholic country had reason to be proud of them. In 1848 a petition was signed by Cavour, Balbo, d'Azeglio, and hosts of other Italian patriots, demanding and procuring their complete enfranchisement, for they were among the best citizens and best soldiers of the country. With the emancipation and unification of Italy they commenced what seems to be their great destination and mission, the design of their unparalleled history—the evangelization of the peninsula. They have been marching down from their mountains, planting Churches and schools all over the land, from Piedmont to Sicily, from Genoa to Venice. They have chapels, Sunday-schools, weekday schools, charity schools, hospitals, a printing-house, a theological seminary, and periodicals. Palaces have been given them for their theological school and printing operations, and, in some cases, for chapels. They have districted the whole country into five sections, that of Rome and Naples comprising eleven stations. They are the most legitimate religious reformers of Italy. Their remarkable story affords a lesson to the Church in all the world and for all ages. "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches."

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#### ART. II.—EQUATORIAL AFRICA.

LONG: *Central Africa*. Harpers. 1877.

CAMERON: *Across Africa*. Harpers. 1877.

STANLEY: *Through the Dark Continent*. Harpers. 1878.

AMONG the most recent books on Central Africa are the three placed at the head of this article. The first two might be characterized as records of failure as to the objects proposed, yet both furnish agreeable reading and valuable information. Neither Long nor Cameron added much to what readers of Burton, Speke, and Livingstone already knew about Victoria and Tanganyika lakes, and Stanley superseded both with later and fuller

information; yet the observations of both have a comparative value as confirming or differing from the pages of Livingstone, Stanley, Baker, and Linant.

C. Chaille Long is an American—Southern, Frenchized, Egyptized, *jeune et brave*, an officer in the Egyptian army, “more a soldier than a *savant*,” “chief of staff to the expedition of Colonel Gordon, Governor-General of the Equatorial Provinces,” “the territories surrounding the Victoria and Albert lakes,” “annexed to Egypt” by Baker in 1872, after the most approved style of English and American annexation (or appropriation) of the lands of the semi-civilized or savage. In the spring of 1874 official duty called him, in company with Colonel Gordon, to Gondokoro, where, after the return of his chief, he philanthropically determined to gratify “the impatient desire of the world to know something of that mysterious region, the source of the Nile,” “to connect the two lakes, Victoria and Albert, the unfinished work of Captain Speke,” and to “visit and confer with that great African king, Mtésa or M'Tsé, of whom only vague accounts had been given by Speke.”—P. 36. It is six hundred miles from Gondokoro to Victoria Nyanza the first two hundred and fifty of which, to the frontier outposts Fatiko and Foneira, he had military escort. This far Baker had penetrated. Beyond this Long wended his way almost alone, with one indifferent white companion, two black soldiers, and a few porters, to the capital of Uganda, on the northern shore of the now famous lake. He traveled during the rainy season, and his account of his fifty-eight days' trip is as lugubrious as the season. His itinerary runs, “rain and misery by day, and misery and rain by night;” “perpetual rain, fever, and misery;” “the route lay, day after day, through rain, bog, slime, and marshy earth, ravine, and slough, from whence the foulest odors arose, that nearly asphyxiated us.” He “cannot concur in Sir S. Baker's eulogy of the Fatiko country as the ‘Paradise of Central Africa.’” He has “never seen in all Africa any views of landscape that merit notice except the scenery on Lake Victoria Nyanza.” “Central Africa is a deadly, pestiferous country (‘a hell on earth,’ he says in one place) in spite of the ‘trumbash’ to the contrary of travelers,” who “bid for sympathy for the negro”—“a popular theme”—and who “must ‘keep up with the procession,’ though

it be at the sacrifice of truth." Much of the book wears this tone of bilious depreciation of Africa, of the negro, of other travelers, of the efforts of African philanthropists, of things in general, except self, of whom, on all suitable occasions, the author is, of course, modestly laudatory. To captivate our candor he titles his volume "Naked Truths of Naked People," oblivious to the fact that the civilized have no special fondness for nakedness, but prefer, like the natives of Uganda, to see full dress, and do not object to a traveler's furnishing a reasonable amount of clothing to hard realities. Nature riots in imaginings, and clothes creation with a thousand deceptive appearances in motions, parallaxes, refractions, and complementary colorings. Long himself colors or rough-sketches, clothes or leaves naked, as suits his subject or his humor.

There is a good deal of good reading in his easy, unpretending narrative, open as it is to criticism. Why he should call the Mississippi muddy and the Missouri limpid, (p. 23,) or write Uganda when every other author has Uganda, is not evident. That he knew nothing of the beautifully ingenious structure of the languages of Central Africa, affording by a few simple sound-prefixes to words an infallible key to their meaning, would be no disparagement to him and no blemish to his book had he not unfortunately attempted, on page 119, to enlighten his readers on this subject. "The Ugunda," he says, calling the people of the country by the name of their country, "prefix M'—M'Ugunda, to designate the 'country of.'" (!)

The most cursory reader of books on Africa that have been for a dozen years before the English-speaking public knows that "U" prefixed signifies "country of;" "Wa" prefixed means "people of;" "M" prefixed, "a person of;" "Ki" prefixed, "language of." Take an example from Speke, and find a similar one in Stanley, "Through the Dark Continent," vol. ii, Appendix: "Ugogo signifies the country of Gogo; Wagogo means the people of Gogo; Mgogo is a man of Gogo; Kigogo, the language of Gogo."

The differences between Long and Stanley in putting Uganda words into English letters, or the endeavor to express African sounds by English vowels and consonants, are no greater, perhaps, than those of the inextricable jumble of orthographies given to Indian words by the first settlers of this country, or to

Chinese words by the makers of Anglo-Chinese vocabularies. Besides the vocal differences that no written signs can express, there is, in human hearing and in human judgment of phonetic differences, something that is analogous to color-blindness, which wholly incapacitates some individuals for distinguishing sounds and rendering them into their nearest English equivalents. Comparing Long's vocabulary of "Ugunda" words with Stanley's after the above abortive attempt at philology, we should naturally incline to give Stanley's the preference.

We smile when he writes, on his arrival at the court of the sable chieftain, Rionga, "At night a dance was given in my honor," with as much complacent gravity as if he were reporting a grand ball in honor of an ambassador of the Khedive at the Court of St. James; but he taxes our credulity when he would have us believe that the Emperor of Uganda struck off thirty heads, by his executioners, "to crown in blood the signal honor of the white man's visit to M'tsé!"

We are obliged to Colonel Long—breveted "colonel" by the Khedive for his valor and enterprise—for some glimpses along the Nile made familiar by other voyagers, from Khar-toom to Gondokoro, and from Gondokoro to Lake Victoria, ground traversed in part by Burton, Speke, and Baker, as well as for confirmation of Schweinfurth in the West, on the Mittoo and Niam-Niam.

In June, 1874, Long made his entrance into "Ugunda," where, being the first man ever seen on horseback, he was regarded, like Cortez in Mexico, a veritable centaur. Speke and Grant visited this despot of Central Africa in 1862, twelve years earlier, and Stanley and Linant in 1875, ten months later. Here, then, we reach ground where comparison is possible. As long as a traveler describes regions and tribes which he alone has seen we have no means of testing the accuracy of his statements. Here we have descriptions of Uganda and likenesses of the "son of Suna" by different hands, bearing a general resemblance, but colored and shaded according to the taste of the individual artist, and displaying the relative powers of the limners for sketching and picturing.

February 19, 1862, Speke writes: "One march more, and we came in sight of the king's palace. It was a magnificent sight,

a whole hill covered with gigantic huts such as I had never before seen in Africa."

June 20, 1874, Long says: "Ascending a high hill, I stood facing an elevation not five hundred yards away, the palace of M'tsé, King of Ugunda."

April 10, 1875, Stanley says: "We saw the capital, crowning the summit of a smooth rounded hill, a large cluster of tall, conical grass huts, in the center of which rose a spacious, lofty, barn-like structure. The large building was the palace, the cluster of huts the imperial capital."

Speke, the first white visitor to this capital, in the youth and regency of this usurping and bloody chieftain, was assigned to remote and uncomfortable huts outside of the royal premises, and had great difficulty in getting near the court, perhaps on account of mingled fear and jealousy of so singular a visitor. Mtesa is now better acquainted with white men. Long and Stanley, with their suites, seem to have been at once assigned to pleasant quarters within the royal inclosure. The semi-civilization of this born barbarian, his aroused ideas, his rude reachings after something better and higher, his desire to learn, his anxiety to know about every thing foreign, seem to have impressed most profoundly the few travelers who have hitherto visited him. Each has given us a pen portrait. Speke penciled him, Stanley photographed him, and wood-cuts have made us as familiar with his form and features as we are with Schweinfurth's King Munsa. Speke, at his first interview with African royalty, describes "a good-looking, well-figured, tall young man of twenty-five." Long's portrayal is, "A man of majestic mien, scarcely thirty-five years of age; more than six feet high; face nervous, but expressive of intelligence; large, restless eye, from which a gleam of fierce brutality beams out that mars an otherwise sympathetic expression; features regular; complexion a light copper tint." Stanley pictures the "foremost man of Central Africa," at first meeting, as "a tall, clean-faced, nervous-looking, thin man, probably six feet one inch high, and slender; intelligent, agreeable features; fullness of lips; general expression of amiability blended with dignity; large, lustrous, lambent eyes; color dark red-brown; of a wonderfully smooth surface; interested in the manners and customs of European courts, and enamored of the wonders of civilization;



ambitious to imitate the ways of the white man, according to the best of his ability." Long betrays jealousy and is guilty of injustice when he says "only vague accounts" were given of Mtésa by Captain Speke. The discoverer of Victoria Nyanza, Ripon Falls, and the lacustrine sources of the Nile, spent over four months of chafing captivity with this capricious chief, and devotes over one third of a volume of five hundred and fifty pages to a minute diary of his stay in Uganda.

Long was there one month; let him tell us how: "Ill and helpless;" "so weak as to be scarcely able to walk; flesh nearly transparent; once muscular arms and legs mere skin and bone." Arrived June 21, and on the 25th "ill and suffering, and, supported by two soldiers, responded to a pressing invitation of Mtésé to go to the (straw) palace." So sick as to be unable to stand, he was invited to sit in the presence of the king, "an honor never before accorded to any mortal!" On the 29th, "fever and dysentery merged into delirium;" "till the 6th of July unable to move from my hammock." Is it any wonder that he dipped his pen in the bile of his own liver, and wrote, "The country has nothing, absolutely nothing, of that grand and magnificent spectacle depicted by the pens of some enthusiastic travelers, who would make, to willing readers, a paradise of Africa, which is, and must ever be, a grave-yard to Europeans?"

Long's great object was to get to the lake. Speke and Grant had seen it at a distance, and skirted its edges, but no white man had been permitted to survey it or to float freely on its bosom. Mtésa at last granted his request, and rounded off his permission with the butchery of seven men, "the bloody price paid that the world might know something of this mysterious region!" It is hard to believe this. Livingstone did not credit Speke's reports about the bloody brutality of Mtésa, and Long takes credit to himself for vindicating Speke at the expense of Livingstone.

Like all Asiatic and African despots from the earliest times, Mtésa held public court, daily or periodically, and the subjects of the autocrat were brought before him for judgments, accused of various crimes, as before a police judge holding his court in London or New York city. No troublesome jury intervened; there was seldom any defense attempted or allowed,

the interval between the accusation and the sentence, and between the sentence and its execution, was brief, often only a moment. Fines and imprisonments were rare; capital punishments for what we deem venial offenses were rife, as under the Jewish or old English law. Long's hallucination, fostered by lying interpreters, was connecting all these executions of public offenders, State criminals, with himself!

There is no doubt that but little value is set upon human life in Africa; no doubt that power of life and death is regarded as one of the prerogatives of royalty by both kings and people. Mtesa told Speke he had "killed a hundred in a single day." Men, women, officers and private subjects, wives, concubines, were ordered to execution for trifling offenses. On one occasion the impatient king "took upon himself the executioner's duty, fired at a sentenced woman, and killed her outright." In Speke's time, when firearms were new to him, he "gave a loaded carbine to a page and told him to go out and shoot a man in the outer court," a wanton "affair that created hardly any interest." Long, to show how little progress Stanley had made in civilizing and christianizing this heathen monarch, quotes Linant as saying that after the departure of Stanley the brutal "Mtesa, to show the accuracy of his aim, leveled his gun deliberately at one of his female attendants and blew her brains out!"

As the outcome of a good deal of urging and petitioning, Long was at length allowed to spend a day or two on the lake. "Twelve hundred men were detailed to escort me." Was this a traveler's guess, or did he see the muster-roll of this merry regiment? In vain he tried to induce the racing blacks to row across the lake. "Weak and in an almost dying condition," he could not break away from his escort and solve the lake question alone, and so its solution was delayed for another year and reserved for another hand.

Colonel Long made some interesting observations on his way back to Foneira, and sums up "the following results, submitted [by him] to the Government of Egypt."

1. "M'tsé, King of Ugunda, had been visited, and the proud African monarch made a willing subject, [astounding statement!] and his country, rich in ivory and populous, created the southern limit of Egypt!" [Annexation with a venge-

ance! entering a man's house as a guest, and claiming his premises as your own!]

2. "The Lake Victoria Nyanza had been partially explored; not thoroughly, owing to my helpless and almost dying condition at the time."

Nyanza explored! Much as a hospital patient would explore Cape Cod bay or the Chesapeake by paddling a day in the harbor of Boston or Baltimore!

The sum of this Americano-Egyptian traveler's observations is that "Central Africa is no paradise, but a plague-spot, and that the negro, the product of this pestilential region, is a miserable wretch, often devoid of all tradition or belief in a Deity, which enthusiastic travelers have endeavored to endow him with. This is the naked truth, in contradiction to all those clap-trap pæans which are sung of this benighted country."

From these dismal views we turn to the more hopeful Stanley. His title is shadowy—"Through the Dark Continent"—but his pages are sunshine. Few men are more sanguine, cheery, and full of abounding life, than Henry M. Stanley. The exuberance of his spirits communicates itself to his style, which is rather that of the off-hand newspaper reporter than of the thoughtful book-maker for the reading of thoughtful men. Descriptive, overflowing with good feeling, conversational, declamatory, dramatic, and poetic by turns, his is just the style for popular use, while the grand achievements to which he was providentially led would atone for any defect in the telling, and make stupidity itself eloquence. His "tale would cure deafness."

The definite settlement of the Nile sources, the open problem of twenty centuries, and the determination of the course of the Congo, known only at its mouth for the last four hundred years, are the great geographical feats of the century. They place Stanley in the first rank of explorers. A traveler needs two things—power to see, and power to make others see what he has seen; and both these Stanley possesses in a remarkable degree. Favorable circumstances and a rare combination of personal endowments have made of a New York newspaper reporter the foremost African discoverer of the age. A holiday expedition with General Napier to Magdala, the mountain

stronghold of the fierce Theodore in 1868, his trip in search of Livingstone to Ujiji in 1871, his venturous raid with Sir Garnet Wolseley into malarial Coomassie in 1873, were Stanley's apprenticeship in African travel, customs, climate, and adventure.

It is one of the incidents of the times that an enterprise which in former times would have required the patronage of royalty and princely treasures was boldly undertaken by a couple of daily newspapers. Bennett, of the "Herald," spent twenty thousand dollars in the expedition to find Livingstone. In May, 1873, Livingstone died on the southern shore of Lake Bangweolo,\* and a year later his remains were buried in Westminster Abbey. Stanley was one of the pall-bearers at the funeral, and here we have the inception of his last great enterprise. The first few sentences of "Through the Dark Continent" tell the story of the inspiration, how he caught the falling mantle of his revered predecessor and model. Livingstone was Stanley's ideal moral hero. All through his volumes one cannot help noticing how thoroughly the sturdy Scotchman had impressed himself upon the sanguine and enthusiastic young American. The half-divine man of your imagination draws to himself your love and reverence, molds your being, shapes your future, invests your spirit with his spirit, becomes one of whom you think at every new fork in the highway of life, and of whom you ask, as Stanley was ever asking of Livingstone, "What would he think of my course, and which road would he in similar circumstances have chosen?" Stanley writes: "Livingstone was dead, and the effect which this news had upon me was to fire me with a resolution to complete his work. I bought over a hundred and thirty books on Africa, and studied the subject night and day with the zeal of a living interest and the understanding of one who had already been four times on the continent."

Zeal is infectious, and the editor of the "London Daily Telegraph" caught a portion of Stanley's enthusiasm, the result of which was consultation with the "New York Herald," and the origination of an expedition with three specific objects in view: 1. To explore and map Lake Victoria Nyanza, and con-

\* Long, with his accustomed accuracy in African matters, writes the name of Lake Bemba "Bageolowe."

nect its waters with the Nile, not by hearsay and conjecture, as heretofore, but by positive information. 2. To finish the coast circuit of Lake Tanganyika, and settle the question of outlet. 3. To follow Livingstone's Lualaba, and see whether it eventuated in the Nile, in the sands of the desert, in some central lake, or in the Congo, each of which had been conjectured or foretold by easy-chair, stay-at-home geographers, whom Livingstone sarcastically calls "theoretical discoverers" and Speke "hypothetical humbugs." No expedition, except perhaps Barker's, at the expense of the creditors of the lavish Khedive, was ever more generously fitted out. For his march to Ujiji, in 1871, Stanley started with six tons of African pocket money, wire, cloth, beads, etc., loads for one hundred and sixty porters. In 1874 the total weight of goods, stores, tents, ammunition, boat and fixtures, photographic apparatus, scientific instruments, and articles too numerous to mention, was over eighteen thousand pounds, nine tons, requiring three hundred carriers. In the absence of the trained elephant, buffalo, giraffe, zebra, Africa's own hints at future burden-bearers, human porters, supplemented by a few asses, are the traveler's only dependence, his prime necessity. In the Anglo-American expedition, as it set out from the coast, were six riding asses, five dogs, thirty-six women, wives of porters or soldiers, ten boys, three Europeans, Fred. Barker, Frank and Edward Pococke, (Thames boatmen,) soldiers, and porters—in all three hundred and fifty-six souls. Stanley is his own historian. Making all due allowance for the sanguine pen of a good-natured, good-hearted, imaginative young man, bubbling over with philanthropy and thoroughly saturated with reverence for Livingstone, bound to make the best of every thing and to tell the best side of every story, the reader of Stanley cannot help feeling, in view of what he accomplishes, that he is a born organizer, a brave and skillful leader, Bonapartish in rapid decision, energy and skill, and Wellingtonian in his power and management of detail. With all the resources of modern science and invention at his disposal, he is to act the scientific explorer; to mark the course and rate of travel; the course, depth, and velocity of rivers; the geology, geography, botany, and natural history of the countries traversed: he has to be astronomer, linguist, photographer, cartographer, meteorologist, journalist,



doctor, nurse, director of all, sympathizer with all, father of all, brains for all. Above all, he is to bear a charmed life, one of those favored ones whom Providence permits to open new doors to human knowledge, who succeed where others have failed, and who are immortal till their special mission is accomplished. Discovery is successional. Revelation is an eternal process. Not to any one man is it vouchsafed to turn more than a single leaf, to show his fellows more than a single new page. Livingstone, the prince of African explorers, spent as many years on the continent as others spent months, and died, a veteran, with his hands full of works completed, and as many problems unsolved. Neither Livingstone nor Cameron could get beyond Nyangwé. Stanley was commissioned to bear a torch "through the Dark Continent." The five small maps with which his volume opens tell the whole story of African discovery for the last two hundred years. They show how crude were our ideas of inner Africa down to the last twenty years, and how rapidly discoveries have multiplied within that period.

Starting from Bagamoyo November 17, 1874, Stanley followed the beaten track toward Ujiji till he reached Ugogo, two hundred and eighty miles from Zanzibar, and then (January 1, 1875) struck off to the north-east, in the direction of the Victoria Nyanza. Here the expedition met the first severe penalties of African travel. "The cold winds, chilly atmosphere, feverish feeling, the extortions of the natives and their insolence, all combine to render the land of Ugogo hateful and bitter to the mind."—Vol. ii, p. 517. Just two months from the date of starting they experienced their first severe reverse in the death of young Edward Pecoche. A week later, in the midst of sore famine and distressing sickness, they were attacked by the natives of Ituru, and lost twenty-one men in a single day. Stanley prefaces his account of this "three days' fight" with the remark, often repeated in substance, "We were strong disciples of the doctrine of forbearance, for it seemed to me then as if Livingstone had taught it to me only the day before."

The 27th of February they entered a "wretched-looking, rude village" on the borders of the lake, where, after making his men comfortable in camp, under the control of Fred. Barker and Frank Pecoche, and enlisting a crew for the "Lady

Alice" of ten men and a steersman, Stanley boldly set out on a voyage to trace the outline of the unknown lake. Coasting along the southern shore, the first important object was the mouth of the Shimeeyu River, "the extreme southern reach of the Nile waters." The total length of this southern and second principal affluent of the Nyanza, "as laid out on the chart, is three hundred miles, which gives the course of the Nile a length of four thousand two hundred miles: making it the second longest river in the world." The whole of the month of March was consumed in coasting along the eastern and north-eastern portion of the lake, and, after a variety of adventures and a skirmish or two with hostile natives, the voyagers reached Ripon Falls and saw the northern outlet of the lake into the Nile, and shortly after entered Uganda, the empire of Mtesa, where, says Stanley, the voyager "is as safe and as free from care as though he were in the most civilized State in Europe."

Mtesa and his subjects appear to have been a genuine surprise to Stanley, and his stay and seven months' acquaintance with this "extraordinary monarch and extraordinary people" an agreeable episode, quite unexpected, and not thought of in his original programme. After months of intercourse with pure barbarians, scantily clothed or absolutely naked, armed with spears or bows and arrows only, he comes suddenly upon "six beautiful canoes," manned with rowers "dressed in white," the commander arrayed in "a bead head-dress, above which a long cock's feather waved, and a snowy white and long-haired goat-skin, while a crimson robe depending from his shoulders completed his full dress." "As we neared the beach volleys of musketry burst out from long lines of military dressed in crimson and black and snowy white, while two hundred or three hundred heavily loaded guns announced to all around that the white man had landed." "Numerous kettle and bass drums sounded a noisy welcome, and flags and banners and bannerets waved," and "thousands of people" "gave a great shout." He is naturally "very much amazed at all this ceremonious and pompous greeting."

Linant's reception, a week later, described by himself, was similar to Stanley's. "On entering the court of Mtesa's palace I am greeted with a frightful uproar, a thousand instruments,

each one more outlandish than the other, produce most discordant and deafening sounds." "At each pillar of the grand reception-room a narrow hall, sixty feet long by fifteen feet wide, stands one of the king's guard, wearing a long red mantle, a white turban ornamented with monkey skin, white trousers, and black blouse with a red band. All are armed with guns."

Long, gotten up in "gold lace" "tunic and red pantaloons," a "howling swell," and mounted, "was greeted by shouts of enthusiasm, that were re-echoed by the distant hills now covered with human beings," and, "at the head of an immense *cortège*, preceded by banners and music and the general-in-chief of the army, proceeded to the royal palace, where he was met by Mtesa, "dressed in a long cloak, the texture of blue cloth, trimmed with gold; around his head, in graceful folds, was wound a white turban; his waist encircled by a belt in gold, richly wrought, from which is suspended a Turkish cimeter; his feet encased in sandals of Moorish pattern procured from Zanzibar." "The din and noise from horn and drum were deafening."

On his first introduction to this extraordinary monarch Stanley's enthusiasm was kindled to flame. The same evening he wrote in his diary, what subsequent intercourse seemed to him fully to confirm, "Mtesa has impressed me as being an intelligent and distinguished prince, who, if aided in time by virtuous philanthropists, will do more for Central Africa than fifty years of Gospel teaching unaided by such authority can do. I think I see in him the light that shall lighten the darkness of this benighted region; a prince well worthy the most hearty sympathies that Europe can give him. In this man I see the possible fruition of Livingstone's hopes, for with his aid the civilization of Equatorial Africa becomes possible."

In his diary on the spot, in letters written to the newspapers in 1875, and in his volumes published in 1878, since his return, Stanley pursues the one theme with sanguine zeal and expectation, the conversion to Christianity of Mtesa, who has already been converted from paganism to Mohammedanism.

Colonel Long has no faith in the convert or the missionary. He intimates that Stanley was "the dupe of the artful savage." He believes that Egypt is Africa's hope for civilization. "Egypt alone has within her domain a population fit for the

perilous service of exploration of these countries; and it is to this element rather than to costly foreign expeditions, whose sacrifice of life and money are (is?) greatly in disproportion to results obtained, that recourse must be had by the ruler of Egypt, by the philanthropist, and by the trader. If Providence has ordained that the regeneration of Central Africa is to be wrought by human means, it is thus, and thus only, it can be accomplished."—Pp. 314, 315. Colonel Long is not alone in the opinion that the route to conversion for the African is through Moslemism to Christianity.

Stanley disclaims being, in any sense, Mtesa's "dupe." He regards the savage chieftain as a "most fascinating and peculiarly amiable man, and should the traveler think of saving this pagan continent from the purgatory of heathendom, Mtesa must occur to him as the most promising to begin with, as his intelligence and natural faculties are of a very high order, his professions of love to white men great, and his hospitality apparently boundless."

His "conversion," like that of pagan Constantine in the fourth century, is not very deep or thorough. "A few months' talk about Christ is not enough to eradicate the evils of thirty-five years of brutal, sensuous indulgence," only "the paternal watchfulness of a sincerely pious pastor," an "earnest, patient, assiduous, zealous, self-denying missionary," can effect this work. "The grand, redeeming feature of Mtesa is his admiration for white men." Yet white men, as yet, appeal only to his self-interest and greed. They trade, like the Arabs, or give boundless presents, like Speke and Stanley. To the self-denying resident missionary only "Mtesa would bend with the docility of a submissive child, and look up with reverence and affection." "Mtesa is the most interesting man in Africa, and one well worthy of our largest sympathies; and I repeat that through him only can Central Africa be Christianized and civilized."

We must take Mr. Stanley's opinion for what it is worth. It is the opinion of those, and they are many, who believe that the heathen are to be approached with a gospel of materialistic betterment; that improvement of physical condition must precede or accompany spiritual instruction; that savage races must be taught to clothe and feed the body before attending to the wants of the soul, all of which is measurably true. To Asiat-

ics and Africans, white Christians, particularly European and American Protestants, the leaders of the van of modern civilization, are bringing a gospel of steamers, clipper ships, railroads, telegraphs, comfortable houses, rich clothing, gold and silver watches, and infinite treasures in iron, steel, wood, glass, spinning-jennies, power-looms, and friction matches.

"How long," soliloquizes Stanley, (vol. i, pp. 222, 223,) "shall the people of these lands remain ignorant of Him who created the gorgeous sunlit world they look upon? . . . How long shall their untamed ferocity be a barrier to the Gospel, and how long shall they remain unvisited by a teacher! when shall all the land be redeemed from wildness, the industry and energy of the natives stimulated, the havoc of the slave-trade stopped, and all the countries round about permeated with the nobler ethics of a higher humanity! O for the hour when a band of philanthropic capitalists shall rescue these beautiful lands, and supply the means to enable gospel messengers to come and quench the murderous hate with which man beholds man in the beautiful lands around Lake Victoria!"

After two weeks' detention in Uganda Stanley re-embarked in the "Lady Alice" to finish the exploration of the western coast of the Victoria Lake. We cannot dwell upon his conflict with the treacherous natives of Bumbireh, the publication of which caused such howls of disapprobation when his letters from the Nyanza first appeared in the public prints, nor how he conducted his expedition to the eastern shore of the still unknown sheet of water called the Muta Nziga, and how he was here turned back, as so many luckless African travelers have been turned back, from the very threshold of discovery by the duplicity and faithlessness of the natives, which all the threats and commands of Mtesa were powerless to prevent. During his absence another of his white men, Fred. Barker, died and found a grave on the shores of the Nyanza.

Speke estimated the surface of the Victoria Nyanza at 29,000 square miles. Stanley made it, by actual survey, 21,500 square miles, half the size of Lake Superior, the greatest of all the known fresh-water lakes. Baffled at Muta Nziga, he made his way to his second objective point, Tanganyika, devoting one whole octavo volume of five hundred pages to the Victoria Nyanza and its surroundings.



Another chieftain, remarkable in his way as Mtesa, one who held the Arab traders at bay, and inflicted on them, as well as on other African chiefs and tribes, immense damage, was Mirambo, whom Stanley met on his route to Tanganyika. He came with about twenty-five of his principal men. "I shook hands with him with fervor, [characteristic of Stanley,] which drew a smile from him as he said, 'The white man shakes hands like a strong friend.' His person quite captivated me, for he was a thorough African gentleman in appearance, very different from my conception of the terrible bandit who had struck most telling blows at native chiefs and Arabs with all the rapidity of a Frederick the Great environed by foes." "I had expected to see something of the Mtesa type, but this mild, inoffensive man presented nothing of the Napoleonic type except the eyes, which had the steady, calm gaze of the master."

Mirambo "preferred boys or young men in war. He never took middle-aged or old men, as they were sure to be troubled with wives or children, and did not fight half so well as young fellows, who listened to his words. Young men have sharper eyes, and their young limbs enable them to move with the ease of serpents and the rapidity of zebras, and a few words will give them the hearts of lions. In all my wars with the Arabs it was an army of youths that gave me victory, boys without beards. Fifteen of my young men died one day because I said I must have a certain red cloth that was thrown down as a challenge. No, no; give me youths for war in the open field, and men for the stockaded villages."

"On the 27th of May, 1876, at noon," writes Stanley, in closing the first volume of "*Through the Dark Continent*," "the bright waters of the Tanganyika broke upon the view, and compelled me to linger admiringly for a while, as I did on the day (November 10, 1871) when I first beheld them." There were few changes in Ujiji. "The house where Livingstone and I lived has long ago been burned down, and in its place there remain only a few embers and a hideous void. The lake extends with the same grand beauty before the eyes as we stand in the market-place. The opposite mountains have the same blue-black color, for they are everlasting. The surf is still as restless and the sun as bright; the sky retains its glorious azure and the palms all their beauty; but the grand old hero whose

presence once filled Ujiji with such absorbing interest for me was gone!"

Stanley's discovery of Livingstone, in 1871, and safe return to Zanzibar, broke up a well-organized and well-furnished British "search expedition" starting out from the coast with the object in view which he had by stealth so successfully accomplished. Out of the wreck of that expedition, in order to use up the material collected and the means subscribed, grew another, commanded by Lieutenant Verney Lovett Cameron. Cameron left Zanzibar February 2, 1873, accompanied by Lieutenant Murphy, who turned back before reaching Ujiji, Dr. Dillon, who shot himself in delirium of an African fever within ten months after starting, and a grandson of the veteran South African missionary and father-in-law of Livingstone, Dr. Moffat, who also fell an early victim to the terrible African climate. Alone, after fearful sicknesses, after meeting the dead body of Livingstone in its route from Lake Bemba to the coast, and in the teeth of difficulties almost innumerable, Cameron reached Ujiji February 18, 1874, and circumnavigated the southern arm of Lake Tanganyika.

Burton and Speke had discovered this lake just fifteen years before: Livingstone and Stanley had tracked out portions of its coast, and two years later Stanley was again on its waters, making the "Lady Alice" do the same duty she had done on the Victoria Nyanza. We need not follow the detail of the circumnavigations. Cameron thought he had found an outlet to the lake in the Lukuga creek or river, a channel which would lead any excess of water into the Lualaba, a hundred and fifty miles distant. Cameron's conclusion is that "in the dry seasons, or when the lake is at its lowest level, very little water leaves by the Lukuga." Stanley opines that the Tanganyika is "steadily rising," and that when it has risen three feet above its present level its waters will flow out to swell the volume of Lualaba, *alias* Livingstone, or Congo. Cameron, page 191, says, "According to the accounts given me by the guides, the lake is constantly encroaching upon its shores and increasing in rise." Instead of being connected with the Nile—as was suspected before Livingstone and Stanley, in 1871; found the Ruisi river flowing into the northern end of the lake—Tanganyika promises to be one of the future lacustrine feeders of the

Congo. Of the singularly bold and picturesque scenery of the mountainous coast of Tanganyika the reader will find effective illustrative cuts from drawings and photographs in both Stanley and Cameron. The healthful upland regions of inner Africa seem destined at no distant day to become centers of missionary operations, like those already inaugurated in Uganda.

From Tanganyika, Cameron, and two years later Stanley, followed Livingstone's route north-east to Nyangwé, on the Lualaba, "a mighty river," says Livingstone, "three thousand yards broad and always deep, current about two miles an hour to the north," "color very dark brown." (March 31, 1871.)

August 1, 1874, Cameron, "after two marches, came in sight of the mighty Lualaba . . . a strong, sweeping current of turbid yellow water fully a mile wide, and flowing at the rate of three or four knots an hour."

October, 1876, Stanley came suddenly upon the "majestic Lualaba, about fourteen hundred yards wide, a broad river of a pale gray color, winding slowly from south and by east."

"At last," says Cameron, "I was at Nyangwé, and now the question before me was, what success would attend the attempt at tracing the river to the sea?"

Stanley, two years later, with characteristic confidence, writes: "A secret rapture filled my soul as I gazed upon the majestic stream. The great mystery that for all these centuries Nature had kept hidden away from the world of science was waiting to be solved. For two hundred miles I had followed one of the sources of the river, and now before me lay the superb river itself! My task was to follow it to the ocean!"

Cameron, like Livingstone, in the wish and endeavor to explore the Lualaba, was destined to disheartening defeat. "I tried every means to persuade the people to sell me canoes, but without avail." Unable to go north, Commander Cameron, by the aid of natives, Arabs, and Portuguese, ultimately found his way to Benguela, crossing, at Lake Dilolo, Livingstone's track *en route* (1854) for St. Paul de Loanda, being the first white man that had ever crossed Africa from east to west. Pluck, common sense, disposition and ability to make the best of circumstances, a plain, full style, scientific and cultivated tastes, and thorough gentlemanliness, characterize Cameron and his narrative. His recorded experiences and observations form a

valuable chapter in African exploration, and his name will go down to posterity as a bold and energetic explorer.

"The greatest problem of African geography," says Stanley, "was left by Cameron exactly where Livingstone had left it. Neither could obtain canoes." "Want of canoes, and the hostility of the savages, and the reluctance and indifference of the Arabs, were the causes that prevented the exploration of the river." How was Stanley to overcome these difficulties? His first operation was to secure the escort of an Arab caravan down the river north, sixty marches for \$5,000. The natives of Nyangwé will not sell canoes; he hopes to come across a tribe lower down the stream who will. If not, we will buy up axes and "make our own canoes."

He consults his only remaining white companion, Frank Po cocke. Frank proposes to "toss up," and the coin six times forbids. Straws drawn as lots were all against the trip into the dark unknown. At the end of the protracted game of lots, so frequently resorted to by John Wesley, all the Stanley came out in the explosive words, "It is of no use, Frank! in spite of rupees and of straws we will face our destiny. I will follow the river!" The contract with the Arabs was completed. About one hundred and fifty people, constituting the expedition, mustered, and on the 5th of November, 1876, the momentous start was made. "The object of the desperate journey is to flash a torch of light across the western half of the dark continent. Eastward, "along the fourth parallel of south latitude, are some eight hundred and thirty geographical miles discovered, explored, and surveyed; but westward, to the Atlantic Ocean, are nine hundred and fifty-six miles which are absolutely unknown."—Vol. ii, p. 127.

On the 6th of November they "drew near to the dread, chill, black forest, and, bidding farewell to sunshine and brightness, entered it." In ten days' time the fearful struggle with innumerable obstacles so disheartened the Arab escort that they wished to annul the contract. It was modified from sixty marches to twenty. The terrors and difficulties of the forest were braved for a few days longer, when, all of a sudden, as if it had been a new revelation, the idea strikes Stanley in one of his sentimental meditative moods, "Why not build canoes and take to the water?"

"It is our work! It is the voice of fate. The One God has written that this year the river shall be known throughout its length; we will have no more forests and hideous darkness. We will take to the river and keep to the river. To-day I shall launch my boat on that stream, and it shall never leave it until I finish my work. I swear it!"—Vol. ii, pp. 149, 150.

With Stanley to resolve was to perform, and the "Lady Alice" was taken from the shoulders of discouraged and worn-out bearers and launched in her own element, to run the gauntlet of poisoned arrows, spears, cataracts, and cannibals, and be laid up on the rocks when the expedition again took to land-journeying within hail of Atlantic civilization. The very outset of their perilous voyage was greeted with the savage war-cry, and they were at once plunged into stern conflicts with cannibals, which in most cases could be settled or terminated only by the successful issue of battle. A desperate fight with the natives, in which they had four killed and thirteen wounded, put them in possession of over twenty canoes. They parted with their Arab escort and embarked Dec. 28, 1876, and paddled toward the unknown "wide open to us. Away down, for miles and miles, the river lay stretched in all the fascination of its mystery." From the hour when the Anglo-American expedition was fairly afloat on the face of the Congo, few romances possess such thrilling interest as attaches to the narrative of their adventures. The barometer told a startling tale. They were, according to its record, sixteen hundred and fifty feet above the sea! Will the river take a mighty sweep to the northward and westward and descend into the Congo, or is it the Niger, or is it the Nile? "If the Congo, there must be many cataracts," and cataracts they found; but, before the cataracts, hordes of murderous cannibal savages! There was no end to Stanley's ingenuity, expedients, and devices. By saving the shields of the savages they converted their canoes into floating forts. The natives beat their war drums, sounded their war horns, and shouted their cannibal cry, "Meat! meat!" but the peaceful expedition answered, "Peace! peace!" sometimes with pacific effect, but oftener with no effect at all other than to embolden the barbarians by show of non-resistance and forbearance. Some of the tribes were peaceful, but most of them were hostile. Sometimes they obtained food in exchange



for cloth, beads, or wire, and sometimes they were hungry to the borders of starvation. By the 29th of January, a little more than a month after leaving the Arabs, they had "fought twenty-four times! and had captured sixty-five door-like shields, which, in fights upon the river, the women raised, so that forty-three guns were of more avail than one hundred and fifty riflemen unprotected." "In these wild regions our mere presence excited the most furious passions of hate and murder."

February 3, 1877, Stanley writes in his Journal: "Livingstone called floating down the Lualaba a fool-hardy feat. So it has proved, and I pen these lines with half a feeling that they will never be read by any man; still, as we persist in floating down according to our destiny, I persist in writing, leaving events to an all-gracious Providence. Day and night we are stunned with the dreadful drumming which announces our arrival and presence in their nation. Either bank is equally powerful. To go from the right bank to the left is like jumping from the frying-pan into the fire. As we row down among the islands, between the savage countries on either side of us, it may well be said that we are 'running the gauntlet.'"—Vol. ii, pp. 280, 281.

February 6, "the river," which had for hundreds of miles held a northerly course, "for the first time deflected west."

February 8, they heard for the first time the welcome name "Congo."

February 14, they beat off the "Bangala," the "Ashantees of the Livingstone River." A few days before they had "discovered four ancient Portuguese muskets, at the sight of which the people of the expedition raised a glad shout." It was an intimation of the sea. Musket shots now took the place of the whizzing of arrows and spears, but the weapons were old and the gunners awkward; they were no match for Snider rifles, elephant guns, and explosive balls.

February 18, 1877. "For three days we have been permitted, through the mercy of God, to descend this great river uninterrupted by savage clamor or ferocity."

February 19. "Regarded each other as the fated victims of protracted famine or the rage of savages."

March 15. "The people no longer resist our advance. Trade has tamed their natural ferocity, and they no longer re-

sent our approach like beasts of prey." Henceforth, falls and cataracts; canoes over falls and down plunging cataracts; canoes hauled over land around falls and cataracts; through forests and over mountains; Kalulu, the boy taken by Stanley to England, precipitated over a dangerous fall in a canoe and lost; and, worst of all, Frank Pococke, the young Englishman, fellow traveler over three fourths of a continent, drowned June 8, 1877, in the fool-hardy attempt to shoot a fall! All these fatalities Stanley chronicles with a dramatic pen. Abating something for exuberance of fancy and expression, his versatility as a describer is equal to his versatility as a leader or commander. The last pages of "Through the Dark Continent" read like the concluding act of a tragedy. It is impossible to read them without tears. "Fatal June, 1877," writes Stanley:

"The full story of the sufferings I have undergone cannot be written, but is locked up in a bosom that feels the misery into which I am plunged neck-deep. O, Frank! Frank! you are happy, my friend. Nothing can now harrow your mind or fatigue your body. You are at rest for ever and ever. Would that I were also!"

July 28. "The freshness and ardor of feeling with which I had set out from the Indian Ocean had by this time worn quite away. Fevers had sapped the frame, overmuch trouble had sapped the spirit, hunger had debilitated the body, anxiety preyed upon the mind. My people were groaning aloud; their sunken eyes and unfleshed bodies were a living reproach to me; their vigor was gone, though their fidelity was unquestionable; their knees were bent with weakness, and their backs were no longer rigid with the vigor of youth, life, strength, and devotion. Hollow-eyed, gaunt, sallow, unspeakably miserable in aspect, we yielded to imperious nature, and had but one thought only—to trudge on for one look more at the blue ocean."—Vol. ii, p. 435.

July 31. "We received the good news that Embomma was only five days' journey from us." "As the object of the journey had now been attained, and the great river of Livingstone had been connected with the Congo of Tuckey, (1816,) I saw no reason to follow it further, or to expend the little remaining vitality we possessed in toiling through the last four cataracts."

"At sunset we lifted our brave boat, the 'Lady Alice,' and

carried her to the summit of some rocks five hundred yards north of the fall. After circumnavigating Victoria and Tanganyika lakes, and floating down the Congo fourteen hundred miles, and after a journey of seven thousand miles over broad Africa and its waters, she was consigned to her resting-place above the Isangila Cataract, to bleach and rot to dust."

August 4 every thing useless was abandoned, and they began their last overland journey, "a wayworn, suffering, feeble column, nearly forty men sick with dysentery, ulcers, scurvy—the victims of the latter disease steadily increasing." "Only three days off from food!" "Next day, when morning was graying, we lifted our weakened limbs for another march. Up and down the desolate, sad land wound the poor hungry caravan; in melancholy and silent procession, voiceless as sphinxes, we felt our way down into a deep gully, and crawled up again and camped. It was night before all had arrived." They could go no farther, apparently. In this extremity Stanley resolved to send a letter to the coast, and three of his men volunteered to carry it. In two days an answer came from the residents of Boma, and with the answer, food for the starving expedition. They were saved, and the solution of the problem of the centuries was revealed to the civilized world.

Stanley and Cameron had each a similar experience as they approached the Atlantic coast. Stanley converts it into drama; Cameron tells the tale of suffering and deliverance in his usual matter-of-fact way.

"The marching powers of my men had gone from bad to worse, and I saw that some decisive step must be taken or the caravan would never reach the coast, now only one hundred and twenty-six geographical miles distant. Upward of twenty men complained of being unable to walk far or to carry any thing, swelled legs, stiff necks, aching backs, and empty stomachs being the universal cry." He resolved to throw away every thing, tent, boat, bed, every thing but books and instruments, and, with a few picked men, make his way to the coast, and send back relief for the remainder. After a few days of forced marches the forlorn hope came in sight of the sea, and, when utterly exhausted and worn out, he dispatched a note to Katombéle, and received as hearty a welcome from the residents as Stanley received from the merchants at Boma. Cameron,

nearly dead of scurvy, sent his men in a schooner to Zanzibar by way of Good Hope, and himself took passage for England.

Stanley accompanied his expedition, or the relics of it, back to Zanzibar, every-where lionized, at Embomma, at St. Paul de Loanda, at Cape Town, at Zanzibar, in England, and in America. It is with just pride that he records, in the Preface to his volumes, the honors showered upon him by every learned Geographical Society in Europe, and that his achievement was crowned by a unanimous vote of thanks by both Houses of the Congress of the United States, an "honor more precious than all the rest." Of the expedition one hundred and fourteen died; eighty-nine were returned to Zanzibar; fourteen were drowned; fifty-eight died in battle. Small-pox and dysentery were the two most destructive disorders.

On the 17th of November, 1874, the expedition took the "first bold step for the interior; on the 26th November, 1877, the relics of it went ashore at Zanzibar." How did Stanley part with his black followers? "Sweet and sad moments those of parting." "Through what strange vicissitudes of life had these men not followed me!" "What noble fidelity these untutored souls had exhibited! The chiefs were those who had followed me to Ujiji in 1871." "For years to come there will be told in many homes in Zanzibar the great story of our journey, and the actors in it will be heroes with their kin. For me, too, they are heroes, those poor ignorant children of Africa, for, from the first deadly struggle in savage Ituru to the last staggering march into Boma, they rallied to my voice like veterans, and in the hour of need they never failed me." Stanley has unbounded faith in the future of the black man. He is (at this writing) again in Africa. What is his errand? He has told no one. Something he will doubtless accomplish, and African soil may yet become the resting-place of the mortal remains of the indefatigable traveler.

Present appearances afford just ground for hope that the nineteenth century will not close without adding to its numberless triumphs in science, art, discovery, wealth, and civilization, the thorough exploration of the entire continent of Africa, said by Malte-Brun to be the "last portion of the civilized world which awaits at the hands of Europeans the salutary yoke of legislation and culture." Savage Central Africa is being

brought to the knowledge of geographers, bit by bit, with a rapidity paralleled in our own West, so rapidly that we need not be ashamed of ignorance of the latest phase of African discovery if an intelligent Bostonian could innocently ask "in what State Montana is situated!" Let the remaining twenty years of the century be as fruitful in discovery as the last twenty, and but few of the squares made on the map by intersecting meridians and parallels will longer tantalize by their blank whiteness; lake coasts, mountains, and rivers will not longer be laid down from unreliable native and Arab information, the dotted lines of doubt will be replaced by the firm tracings of actual survey or personal inspection.

Railroads and telegraphs will intersect the lands. Slavery will be blotted out. Munsas, Mtesas, Mirambos, and Riongas will be civilized by the united influences of commerce and Christianity. The three great enemies to the progress of Christianity in Africa are slavery, rum, and gunpowder. Mohammedanism, with its slavery and polygamy, is but a slight advance on pure heathenism. To the Christian Africa is one of the most interesting portions of the globe to-day. Some of its tribes are quite advanced in civilization and the arts, and some are fearfully low and degraded. Arab slavers have cursed one side of the continent, and Portuguese the other; but slavery is coming to an end. Probably but few more costly exploring expeditions will be fitted or needed to settle the few geographical questions that still remain unsettled. Merchants and missionaries will gradually extend the area of geographical knowledge, and colonies may yet be projected on the borders of interior lakes and rivers, and the African, in the providence of God and the order of events, will yet emerge from childhood, and develop all the powers and capacities of the fully civilized man.



## ART. III.—THE BASLE SESSION OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

*Siebente Hauptversammlung der Evangelischen Allianz*, gehalten in Basel vom 31 August bis 7 September, 1879. Berichte und Reden herausgegeben in Auftrag des Comité der Allianz, durch CHRISTOPH JOHANNES RIGGENBACH, D.D., 2 Bände, Seiten 1054. Basel, 1879.

THE small is always bringing to pass the great. Christianity, with its measureless productive power, seems to delight in its easy potency to measure the long distance between the little mustard seed and the great sheltering tree. One day in May, 1839, while the New York anniversaries were in progress, a few persons met in a room of the American Tract Society, and formed themselves into a group for the purpose of promoting brotherly union among all evangelical Christians. Having taken an organic shape, the society purchased several hundred copies of a thin volume with the title, "Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches," which were distributed gratuitously among leading ministers and laymen in the various Churches of the country. The association was short-lived. It lacked cohesive power, and its plan seemed at least visionary. But it was the first effort of which there is any record, in any country, of an attempt to group the Protestant Churches into a sisterhood, with the avowed object of accomplishing work and realizing results desirable alike by all. Good thoughts never die, and this one crossed the Atlantic, and took shape almost simultaneously in England, Germany, and France. Even the failure of the first attempt in New York did not discourage further effort at organization, for, in 1845, the late Rev. Dr. S. S. Schmucker prepared an address on Christian Union, and, having obtained the assent and promise of co-operation of about fifty ministers and laymen, placed their names to his address, which he termed an "Overture for Christian Union," and called a meeting during the anniversary week of 1846.

Meanwhile a society had been formed in London, in the Wesleyan Centenary Hall, in February, 1845, and in June following held its first public meeting. Arrangements were there made for the first general meeting, to be convened in London in August, 1846. Invitations were extended to the American Churches to co-operate, and these were promptly accepted.

The conference called by Dr. Schmucker in New York did not take place, but was dropped by common consent, as not now necessary. When the London meeting occurred, it was found that the leading European Churches were represented, that there were delegates from the United States, and that the popular interest far surpassed all expectations. It was at this gathering that a confederation was formed, bearing the name of the Evangelical Alliance. From that time to the present its object has been definite and unchanged, and the work it has accomplished has entered into the positive gains for our common Protestantism.

The doctrinal basis of the Evangelical Alliance was laid down at the first general session of the Alliance in London, and was afterward approved by all the European branches, and by the American branch in January, 1867. It is as follows: 1. The divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the holy Scriptures. 2. The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of holy Scripture. 3. The unity of the Godhead, or the trinity of the persons therein. 4. The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the fall. 5. The incarnation of the Son of God, his work of atonement for the sins of mankind, and his mediatorial intercession and reign. 6. The justification of the sinner by faith alone. 7. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner. 8. The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous, and the eternal punishment of the wicked. 9. The divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper.

There have been thus far eight general sessions of the Alliance: London, August, 1846; Paris, August, 1855; Berlin, September, 1857; Geneva, September, 1861; Amsterdam, August, 1867; New York, October, 1873; and Basle, September, 1879.

The Basle session was different in many respects from all its predecessors. There was a degree of confidence and hopefulness as to the work to be done, and the part to be taken by the Alliance in the great future of Protestantism, which could hardly be expected of the body in its earlier period. As might

be expected, the Basle session was far more cosmopolitan than the one in New York, which, by general consent, had exceeded all others in popular enthusiasm. But there was comparatively a small representation of Europeans in New York, owing chiefly to the hesitation of the continental theologians to cross the Atlantic. At Basle there was not this defect. No Protestant field in Europe was without its strong delegation. The very place itself served to add to the interest of the occasion. The rich historical associations impressed the stranger at once. The quaint buildings, the narrow, winding streets, and the antique character of the older part of the city, contrasting strangely with the rapid flow of the ever-youthful Rhine, seemed to suggest that ancient Basle (Basileia) had yet its queenly work to do for the great present and the greater future. It was not forgotten that away back in the mediæval period a Council had been held there for the reform of abuses in the Roman Catholic Church, and that it had spoken the strongest words ever uttered by a papal body in favor of purity of life and doctrine.\*

The Roman Catholics, as a body, have endeavored to give a spurious character to the Basle Council, and it actually adjourned without a positively beneficial bearing on the body which had convened it. But it performed one permanent service to Switzerland and to Europe. It filled the air with a hunger for greater purity. Moreover, it inaugurated measures for the founding of a university which was in full progress when the Reformation began, which passed promptly over to the Protestants, became one of the disseminating forces of Protestant learning for all Europe, and for three centuries and a half has been the leading evangelical university south of Germany.

\*The Basle Council passed decrees for freedom of election in Churches, against expectancies, usurpations of patronage, reservations, annats, and other exactions by which Rome drained the wealth of the Church; against frivolous appeals, the abuse of interdicts, the concubinage of the clergy, and the burlesque festivals and other indecencies of the Church service. It laid down rules for the behavior of the Popes. The Pope was to make his profession with some additions to the form prescribed at Constance, and at every celebration of his anniversary it was to be read over to him by a cardinal at the service of the mass. The number of cardinals was limited to twenty-four, and they were to be taken from all Christian countries, and to be chosen with the consent of the existing cardinals. All nephews of the reigning Pope were to be excluded from the college. Comp. Robertson, "History of the Christian Church," vol. iv, p. 423.

At the Alliance there was hardly a delegate from any country to whom the city did not suggest very precious memories. The Spaniard could not forget that, in that same Basle, Francis Enzinas, a born Spaniard, had lived a length of time, and had translated and published his Spanish New Testament, which was sent to Spain, distributed throughout the country, and did invaluable service in propagating Protestantism. The representatives from New Italy were reminded that they were treading the streets of a city which, three centuries before, had been a hospitable place of refuge for exiled Reformers from the plains of Lombardy, and even the banks of the Tiber. The German knew he was in the adopted home of his own *Æcolampadius*, who had preached Protestantism fearlessly to Swiss hearers, and had brought it to pass in the very church where the Alliance was holding its sessions. The Dutchman thought of his own great Erasmus, who had studied long in the cathedral cloisters, and had prepared in Basle his version of the Greek Testament, which became the textual foundation of the Reformation in every European land. The Frenchman could hardly forget that, three hundred years previously, that same city had welcomed a band of foot-sore Huguenots, who were fleeing for life from the far-off banks of the Moselle; and the President of the Alliance during its session in Basle, Mr. Carl Sarasin, was a direct descendant of one of those way-worn Protestant fugitives. The Englishman could call up many bonds of union between his country and Basle, and especially the fact that when Mary came to the throne this Swiss city welcomed and entertained a large colony of English refugee Protestants, and that such Englishmen as John Hooper, Thomas Lever, John Burcher, Lawrence Humphrey, and John Fox, author of the "*Book of Martyrs*," made Basle their second home.

Basle, too, was a reminder of one of the universal laws of religious history, that welcome to a fugitive for conscience' sake proves a blessing to him who extends it. When this Swiss city gave a home to the exiled Huguenots, the question was, What could they do toward their own support? They were silk weavers at their old home, and might be in this new one. So they began in a humble way, just to get bread, the weaving of silk ribbons, which, in time, developed into a vast

industry, and for many years has been the chief source of financial prosperity to the whole city and suburbs of Basle. When Hanau, in the Valley of the Main, one day entertained the tired and hungry Dutch Protestant fugitives from the cruelty of the heartless Spanish Alva, it little dreamed that these men had the rare skill of working in gold and silver, and much less could it prophesy that down to the last of the nineteenth century this industry would be the chief employment of the working people of Hanau, and that the gold and silver ware from this place would find its way along the arteries of commerce throughout the world. Even England is not without this lesson. The Dutch led the trade of Europe in the manufacture of cutlery, and when a number fled for safety to England they went as far north as Sheffield, and established the manufacture of cutlery there. From that time the Sheffield cutlery has taken the lead in all lands, while in Sheffield itself one can still see on the sign boards, over the places of business, (the Wostenholms, for example,) the traces of the welcome to the Dutch cutlers in the sixteenth century.

The proceedings of the Alliance were introduced on Sunday evening, August 31, by a reception of members and fraternal salutations, in the great Hall of the Vereinshaus, which corresponds to our Young Men's Christian Association Building. The addresses were in different languages, Pastor Ecklin, of Basle, opening the cordial salutations in the German; Pastor Vignot, of Lausanne, in French; and Rev. Dr. Schaff in English. On Monday, September 1, however, the formal session began, with Councilor Carl Sarasin as President. The day was devoted to representations of the religious condition of the various countries of Christendom. Switzerland was described by Dr. Güder, of Berne. This little country has 2,500,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,500,000 are Protestants. There are twenty-two independent districts or cantons. Seven of these are Roman Catholic, twelve are divided between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, and three are exclusively Protestant. Each canton has its separate constitutional and cantonal government, and none can interfere with its neighbor. Three languages are spoken, according to the geographical position—the Italian, German, and French. In the Engadine Valley there is still a fourth, the Romance language, which is the nearest



living remnant of the old Latin tongue, and which has several local newspapers, and a limited, curious, and overlooked literature. The pastors in Protestant Switzerland are chosen by the congregations for a period of four to six years, after which they can be retained or dismissed by a similar vote. Within the last twenty-five years an important change for the worse has taken place in Swiss theology. Until about 1850 the tone was evangelical, and in harmony with the opinions of such men as Nitzsch, Tholuck, Dörner, Julius Müller, Hägenbach, Hundeshagen, Schneckenburger, and Vinet. But shortly afterward the shadows came. Rationalistic preachers and laymen gained the upper hand in nominations for vacant professorships and pastorates, and separate theological groups began to organize themselves. These are three in number, and have continued down to the present time. The *Reformers* deny the authority of the Scriptures, reject the supernatural, and regard the Church as chiefly a good moral agency for the conservation of society. Their organ in German Switzerland is the "*Zeitstimmen*," (Voices of the Times,) edited by H. Lang, in Zurich, and in French Switzerland the "*Alliance Libérale*," (Liberal Alliance,) published in Geneva. The *Mediatories* seek a harmony between science and revelation, and, while making too important concessions to the prevailing skepticism, endeavor to secure a popular support for evangelical sentiment. Their organ is the "*Volksblatt für die Reformirte Schweiz*," (Popular Journal for Reformed Switzerland.) The *Evangelicals* adhere to the old Helvetic Confession, allow no laxity in the interpretation of the Scriptures, believe in a divine call to the ministry, and claim a supernatural origin for the Church. Their organ for German Switzerland is the "*Kirchenfreund*," (Church Friend,) and for French Switzerland the "*Semaine Religieuse*," (Religious Week.)

The Reformers have both extremes of society on their side. The politicians are with them, and the legislature is in their interest. The illiterate are likewise skeptical. Among the common people are frequently heard such expressions as: "My heaven is six feet below the ground," "I give my money for schnapps instead of for the Bible," and "I do not keep my Sunday in church, but in bed, in the forest, and in the beer-shop." The churches are scantily attended. The highest rate in the attend-

ance at church is one in every ten of the population. The communion service is sadly neglected. The sentimental socialism of the Russian type is in great force still. For example: In 1876 there were 1,102 cases of divorce; in 1877 there were 1,036. By comparison, it is found out that there are five per cent. more divorces than in any other country in Europe.

This is a sad picture of religious life in Switzerland. One would suppose that an evangelical Christian would be glad to welcome to the vales and mountains of the land of Calvin and Zwingli and Farel an earnest worker from any part of the Christian world. Yet not so with even the evangelicals, of whom Dr. Güder reckons himself one. He pays a very unwilling compliment to the energy and success of our Methodist preachers in that country when he says: "The Methodists, with that disturbing vulgarity peculiar to them, have in twenty years gained a very respectable footing in the midst of the State Churches. In every large city they have a very handsome chapel, and in the rural regions they have very neat places of prayer and hired places of worship." With such a testimony to the results of our labors in two decades we can afford to pass by the charge of vulgarity.

Germany was described by Dr. Cremer. His picture was not encouraging. Skepticism reigns supreme in many classes, and only in certain directions are there traces of the coming light. The thinking of the masses is unchristian, while the Roman Catholic Church is actually making inroads on German Protestantism. The skeptics welcome the Roman Catholics, as calculated to aid them in the general disintegration. Socialism is of incalculable injury to evangelical Christianity. Still, there are hopeful indications. There is greater unity than heretofore among Protestants. In the universities there is a more decidedly evangelical sentiment than in former years. France was represented by Pastor Babut, of Nimes. In the republic there are 650,000 Protestants. They have had to contend with great opposition on every side, but have made decided progress during the present century. In 1806 there were only 171 Protestant pastors, and the Protestant Church had no schools or religious or charitable associations. To-day it has 850 pastors, and, if Alsace and Lorraine were still French, would have 1,100. There are 1,250 Protestant schools and 30 religious journals.

M. Lelievre, the Wesleyan editor of *L'Evangeliste*, reported on the evangelistic movement now in progress in France. He groups the Protestants into six classes, as follows: The Reformed Church, with its membership of 560,000; Church of the Augsburg Confession, (Lutheran,) with its 80,000 members; the English Free Church, with 43 church edifices and 5,000 members; the Wesleyan Methodist Church, with its 28 pastors, 18 evangelists, its theological seminary, at Lausanne, and 175 preaching places; the Baptist Church; and the English Society of France. His account of the evangelistic work of Mr. and Mrs. M'All reads like a romance. A few days after the disasters of the Commune in Paris, in 1871, these two English people went about Paris, and witnessed the wretchedness of the common people, and especially the religious destitution of the *ouvriers*, or working people. They held a little meeting, and during its progress a voice spoke out in broken English: "Sir, I have something to say to you. Every-where in this quarter there are thousands and thousands of workmen. We wish no more Romanists. We cannot accept a commanded religion. But if any one will come to us and tell us of another religion, a religion of liberty and equality, many among us are ready to hear." This Macedonian cry struck deeply. Mr. and Mrs. M'All returned to England, expecting to remain, but could not do so. God called them back again to Paris. They began to organize meetings among the *ouvriers*. At the first meeting there were 45 people; at the second 100, and at every additional meeting the number increased. During the year 1878 not less than 85,000 people attended the services. At the Sunday-schools there are 13,000 teachers and 42,000 scholars. Already the work has spread beyond Paris, into the remote parts of the country. The movement is under the protection of the government, inasmuch as there is no disposition to found a Church, but only to promote morality among the laboring classes, "*moraliser les ouvriers*," as it is mildly called by the government and the police.\*

The religious state of Great Britain was described by Rev. E. V. Bligh. Ritualism, according to him, is only skin-deep. In all parts of the country there are hopeful indica-

\* For a minute account of M'All's great religious work in Paris and elsewhere in France, see Bonar, "White Fields of France." New York: 1879.

tions. Even in Ireland there are signs of returning spiritual life. All over England efforts are made for the evangelization of the masses. Street-preaching is frequent in all the larger towns. The labors of Moody and Sankey produced permanent effects. In Glasgow alone there are to-day 7,000 members of Churches as fruits of their meetings. The home mission in London is of great scope and success. The Sunday-schools are constantly increasing in numbers and spiritual influence. The Sabbath is observed as a sacred day, and there is no disposition to compromise it. In Holland, according to Dr. Van Oosterzee, Rome is making rapid progress, and is lavishing her gold in every part of the Netherlands. Even the architecture is taking on the Roman Catholic type every-where. The priesthood are making their threats that Dutch Protestantism is at last dying out. Close beside Romanism, as a bitter foe of Protestant faith, stands the cold spirit of Rationalism. Its advocates call themselves the *Moderns*. Many of them have a moral seriousness, but reject the supernatural basis of Christianity, and are terribly afflicted with the fear of doctrines. Large groups of them are discussing the question whether Jesus or Buddha is deserving of the higher veneration. The *Middle Party* consists of the modified continuation of the Gröningen theology. They stand on supernatural soil, but are distrusted by the evangelical theologians because of their warm sympathy with the Moderns. The *Orthodox School* is too extreme, and goes over into narrow literalism. It stands upon the decrees of Dort, adheres to Calvinistic predestination, and "Christ for the elect." A mechanical and literal inspection is its shibboleth. Dutch theology, as a whole, is not encouraging. The Church is on the defensive, and so great is the scarcity of clerical candidates that one half of the pulpits are without pastors. Christian life here presents some hopeful indication.

The Rev. Dr. Schaff, of New York, presented an account of Christianity in the United States. His remarks needed to be compressed into a half hour, but in published form they make a rich pamphlet of sixty-seven octavo pages.\* America is a continuation of the better Europe. The nationalities of the Old World have commingled in the New, and thrown off many

\* "Christianity in the United States." Document XIV of "The Evangelical Alliance." New York, n. d.

of the worse features of European life. The American Republic has solved the problem of a free Church in a free State. It has had a Christian coloring from the beginning. Marriage is a civil contract. Sunday is regarded as both a civil and religious institution. The public schools are a part of our civilization, and will never be given up. The denominationalism of the United States is a normal type of ecclesiastical life, best suited to our civil polity, and only possible to American conditions. The Protestant evangelical denominations rank as follows, in the order of numerical strength: Methodist Episcopal family, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Protestant Episcopal and Reformed Episcopal, Lutheran, Friends, Irvingites. Then comes the Roman Catholic Church, and, after it, the Heterodox communions—Unitarians, Universalists, Christians, Swedenborgians, and Mormons. Our theological schools are constantly gaining in strength, and especially in the power of original production. No important theological movement abroad fails to receive just attention here. The American Sunday-school has undergone a marvelous development. The American Churches of America spend more men and money for the conversion of the heathen than those of any other country except England. Our religious press is of great power, and is worthy of the influence it wields. The temperance reform belongs to the more remarkable phenomena of our late Church life, and is destined to continue its successful operation. The work of caring for the Freedmen, the Indians, and Chinese is carried on with sacrifice and energy. The Church of the United States has great burdens resting upon it, but shows no lack of spirit to bear them well.

The account of the religious state of Scandinavia was given by Dr. Von Scheele, of the University of Upsala. The chief Church government consists of sixty members, half lay and half clerical. Its sessions are irregular. It has convened but three times since 1865. Professor O. F. Myrberg, of the University of Upsala, represents the skeptical movement now going on in Sweden. He rejects the vicarious sacrifice of Christ, and selects what he pleases from the Bible as worthy of credit. He goes on in his work as professor, and neither Church nor State interferes with him. For a time Walderström was a warm evangelical leader, but he has recently veered round, and



now denies the atonement. The missionary spirit is on the increase, especially in behalf of the Lapps. A new Swedish translation of the Bible is at present in progress, under the direction of Professor C. A. Toren. The attendance at the universities is increasing. In Upsala, for example, there are 1,400 students, of whom 400 study theology. In Norway there is some progress in Christian life, though the skeptical preachers are doing all in their power to sow the seeds of doubt. There are the same general classes of unbelief as in Sweden. Singularly enough, there has been a resolution adopted for the employment of lay preaching throughout the country. This is a great innovation upon the old conservatism of the country. In Denmark there is considerable religious activity, and no little stir in the theological world. Martensen, Nielsen, Madsen, are the leading theologians.

Why do these representatives from Scandinavia—and we might say the same of those of Germany—not make a clean breast of the religious life in their countries? Why do they not also say that their decrepit State Churches are in a desperate condition, and that the chief signs of real religious life are from the “hated sects” that have come in from abroad? Take away the Baptists and the Methodists from Sweden, and there is but little left from Hammerfest all the way down to Malmö that inspires hope for the future. Even the wiser minds are beginning to see this. Polenz, the author of that remarkable work on French Protestantism “*Der Calvinismus in Frankreich*,” wrote a pamphlet, which we have in our possession, in which he attempts to show that the only ground for expecting a more earnest religious life in the Fatherland, is that the sects which have come from America and Great Britain may be able to infuse their own fervor into the lame and halting Churches that are devoid of congregations and all popular confidence, and which would be without pastors if the State treasury did not furnish them with a salary. This silence at Basle, by the continental participants, as to the sublime part now taken in Germany by representatives of the Wesleyans in Great Britain, and the Baptist and Methodist Episcopal Churches of the United States, is highly significant. It means that the State Church theologians are not yet ready to acknowledge the service of these voluntary and successful workers for the Master.

By and by they will see that they are not Greeks, making a present of a fatal horse, but messengers of the word of life to their brethren in the bonds of religious indifference and skeptical darkness. The present generation is too near to take in the full measure of such far-sighted work as the American effort to aid Germany in reaching up to the light once more. But the time will come when justice will be done. There is an equipoise of justice, a calmer judgment on the great historic forces, which only the marching years can give. No man can measure the vastness of St. Peter's by sauntering over the great aisles, or standing on the piazza in front; but let him go to the Pincian Hill, or, still better, ten miles off, to the Rubra Saxa, where Constantine saw his vision of the cross, and then he will see the majesty and vastness of Michel Angelo's wonderful creation in mid-air.

The state of Italy was described by Professor Comba. Protestants from many lands have concentrated there, and especially in Rome. Since 1820 there has been a forward movement, Italy striving to revive herself. The States of the Church have passed from the map of the world for the first time and the last in a thousand years, and the Bible is printed and circulated in Rome itself. Seven Protestant denominations are represented in the city of Seven Hills, and their motto is, "Here we are, and here we shall stay,"—*Siamo a Roma, e ci resteremo*. The Waldenses, who stand to-day in the front line of heroes, with the scars of thirty persecutions on them, number in all Italy 56 churches, 32 mission stations, 15,000 communicants, a theological school, 55 pastors, 50 teachers, and 4,400 scholars in the Sunday-schools. The Free Church, founded in the volcanic year 1848, has 8 congregations and 30 stations. The Free Italian Church, beginning in 1865, has 10 pastors, 1 theological school, 606 scholars in Sunday-schools, and 1,649 communicants. The Wesleyan Methodist Church, formed in 1861, has 22 pastors, 6 helpers, 6 evangelists, 1,276 communicants, and 704 Sunday scholars. The Baptist Church, established in 1855, has 9 pastors, 155 members, and 5 Sunday-schools. The Methodist Episcopal Church began in 1873, and now numbers 6 pastors, 9 evangelists, 1 colporteur, 5 Bible readers, and 437 communicants. In Rome itself there are 53 Protestant schools of the various denominations. In the stormy theological part of the

session there was a gratifying absence of the critical spirit. The skeptics were less considered than the positive side of the truth. The speakers were intent on a steady advance over new ground, and instead of seeking foes, simply took them on the way in their straight march toward untrodden fields. They seemed to think with the Concord minstrel :

" Life is too short to waste  
In critic peep or cynic bark,  
Quarrel or reprimand :  
'Twill soon be dark ;  
Up ! mind thine own aim, and  
God speed the mark ! "

The subject of Christian defense against skeptical attacks was presented by Prof. Orelli, of Basle, and Dr. Godet, of Neuchâtel. There was a decided contrast in these two men. The former, in his youth, represents the young evangelical sentiment of Germany and German Switzerland ; the latter, the veteran heroes who have been fighting for a half century against the knights of doubt. Orelli's address was the most inspiring part of the whole week's programme. He carried all hearts with him, and left an influence akin to an overwhelming awakening sermon. The gospel, he said, which the apostles proclaimed to the world, is established in Christ's atoning death and the resurrection, the former testifying to the accomplishment, and the latter being the pledge of our final salvation. To the atonement and the resurrection the Christian doctrine is bound indissolubly for all time, so that every estrangement of the doctrine from them prevents their saving effect on the soul. The Gospel of Christ has, at all times and in all departments of the human family, proved its saving power. The fact of sin and the sense of guilt are stamped on our humanity. Nothing but divine grace imparted to the soul can save from God's wrath and final perdition. While this line of thought was followed in a measure also by Godet, his treatment was rather from the stand-point of scientific theology than from that of experience. The permanence of the Gospel is dependent on the person of Christ. You cannot detract a particle from the personal divinity of the Saviour without violating the religious and moral force of the Gospel. Christianity, thus weakened, could never have triumphed over its two old enemies, pagan

materialism and Jewish deism. The duty of every evangelical Christian is, therefore, to give firm testimony to the personal divinity of the great Head of the Church.

The general subject of education in relation to the Church, and the special one of the final training of the Christian ministry, were treated by Zillisen, De Pressensé, Court-Preacher Baur, Bachofner, Wiese, Paroz, and Count Bismarck-Bohlen. The want of biblical instruction in the German schools was greatly lamented. To this source many of the evils of the present German Church were attributed. Bismarck-Bohlen, an earnest Christian man, cousin of Prince Bismarck, and a member of the personal staff of the Emperor William, said these strong words: "Not only in the common schools, but also in the higher schools and universities, an evangelical training should be firmly maintained. One of our greatest evils is that you can seldom find a gymnasium where a truly evangelical spirit prevails. Our youth are overcrowded with merely human knowledge, so that in the past year three young men have, in their despair, committed suicide. Had there been a vital Christianity in these schools, those poor young men could have borne their burdens safely. Pray, take this evil to your hearts! We must have a Christian State and a Christian school, for by this means alone can we solve many of our difficulties of faith!"

De Pressensé's address on the Christian and anti-Christian influence of the press was one of the most notable parts of the entire programme. He held that the Protestant Christianity of the nineteenth century must accept the fact of a necessary publicity of thought. Romanism adheres to secrecy and suppression, but Protestantism demands freedom and individuality of action in order to continue the great Reform of the sixteenth century. The Christian press must defend spiritual Christianity, and all the more so because of the gross materialism of the secular press. There must be no want of combative power in the press of the Church. It must oppose the despotism of monarchism and the papacy. See what Roman Catholics are doing to make the press subserve its unholy purposes! In Rome alone there is a congregation of the press, at whose head stands a cardinal. This man presumably controls two hundred newspapers, with the "*Civitta Cattolica*" as their leader.

"The Gospel and liberty"—this must be the watch-word of the Protestant printing-press.

In the intervals of the main discussions in the German and French languages in the St. Martin's Church, the sessions of the Anglo-American Department were held in the French church in the English language. This is a modest little building in the new part of Basle, and to the Americans and English it became a Bethel. Here they met in friendly Christian intercourse, exchanged salutations without much formality, and consulted as to the great common interests of Anglo-Saxon Christendom. Each of the papers was afterward discussed by voluntary speakers, and some of the formal addresses in the St. Martin's Church were here epitomized in English, and their strong points emphasized. Vischer Sarasin, in behalf of the general committee, made a touching address of welcome to his English and American brethren, in which he thanked the descendants of the first Christians of the British Islands for sending to Switzerland the men who evangelized her vales and mountains, and brought them within the Christian fold. Prebendary Anderson, of Bath, spoke on Christian brotherhood. Dr. Pope, of Didsbury College, was prevented by illness from presenting his paper on the same subject, but Dr. William Arthur took his place, and made an exceedingly touching address on the same subject. He was followed by Dr. Rigg, of London, on the "Present Condition of Religious Liberty throughout the Continent." We have seldom heard a clearer or more powerful address from any rostrum than this one. The subject was vital to the interests and aims of the Evangelical Alliance. He gave a calm view of the continental countries in order, and finally came to the most delicate subject of the entire session, namely, the persecution of Protestants now going on in Bohemia. His charge against the despotism of Austria was simply terrific. He had something more than theories. He presented facts and figures. The Rev. Mr. Barrett, superintendent of the Wesleyan missions in Germany, sat at his left, and Dr. Rigg turned to him, and quoted him as his authority. Well he might, for Mr. Barrett, through the Wesleyan missionaries on the spot, had gathered up a great number of cases of persecution, and furnished them in writing to Dr. Rigg. This was unexpected testimony, and singularly corroborative



of the documentary testimony of other ministers in Bohemia, and the persecuted Protestants themselves, which had already been circulated in pamphlet form among the members of the Alliance, and were rapidly producing a sympathetic sentiment.

The culmination of this feeling took place on Saturday, the last day of the session. The Anglo-American Committee resolved to bring up the case before the general session, and test the sense of the Alliance as to protesting against the iniquity. Each of the speakers on Christian union to whom the programme gave the whole time of the last formal session—Plitt, of Germany; Fallot, of Paris; and Hurst—received on Friday evening a courteous note from President Sarasin, requesting them to abridge their addresses as much as possible the following day, as the grave question of Austrian persecution was to be presented. The sessions, contrary to expectation, had increased in interest from the beginning, but on the last day there was not even standing room for the vast multitude. The president read some letters relating to the persecution, and was followed by Drs. Schaff and Riggenbach, who urged the Alliance to take action in favor of the persecuted Protestants. When the charges against the Austrian government were presented there was a silent pause of some length. Permission was given, before a vote was taken, to hear any who might be disposed to defend the persecutors, and to give reason why the protest should not be made. No one said a word. It was a scene of intense interest. Then a vote was taken, when all on the great platform arose, and those in the immense congregation also who were sitting arose as one man, and stood for some time in perfect silence. Many wept audibly. Great numbers were descendants of the Huguenots and Dutch fugitives from Spanish intolerance, and they were now stretching forth a helping hand toward their brothers in sorrow in this late nineteenth century. When a negative was called for, not one person voted. The decision was thus unanimous, and a committee was appointed to wait in person on the Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph, and protest against the continuance of the persecution. That committee has done its work. It had to go as far as Hungary to get an audience with the emperor. He promised to give the subject his careful attention. It remains to be seen whether

he will do it, or permit Romanism still to hound to death, in the Bohemian fastnesses, the descendants in faith of the brave John Huss. We believe this voice and outstretched hand of the Evangelical Alliance to persecuted Protestants cannot be without effect, and that the chains will be broken. The word that has delivered the many persecuted believers in Spain and Italy, the Protestants of the Baltic Provinces, and the Bulgarians in Turkey, is not likely to fall on deaf ears. No action of the Alliance, at any of its sessions, has been more important or farsighted than this. It means the unity of Protestants, and their readiness to defend their companions in doctrine and experience the world over.

All the sessions of the Anglo-American department were marked by well-considered addresses, and will be remembered longest by all attendants at Basle whose native language is the English. Dr. T. D. Anderson, of New York, and Sir Charles Reed, of London, spoke on Sunday-schools. Dr. E. A. Washburn, of New York, discussed the delicate subject of Socialism, and gave, as a solution of the dangers which threaten society at the present time, these three grounds of hope: free discussion of the present dangers by Christian men, sound home training and education in the schools, and a wise co-operation of all possible methods for relieving the working classes of the evils which oppose them. Drs. O. H. Tiffany and John Hall, of New York, presided at two of the Anglo-American sessions, and by their wise words and impartial supervision added largely to the success of the proceedings.

The subject of missions was treated in the general sessions by Drs. Theodore Christlieb, William Arthur, Pastor Barde, and Murray Mitchell. The first speaker presented the most voluminous paper of the whole week of the Alliance. It constitutes one hundred and sixty-four octavo pages in the published proceedings of the session. He compared the former condition of the heathen world with the present success of missions; and then described the missionary genius of the Christian Churches, first among barbarous peoples, and then in civilized nations, and closed with a statement of the great missionary task before the Church at this hour. Dr. Arthur had but a limited time to speak, but, brief as it was, he made the strong point that the success of missions in far-off lands depends upon

the spirit and life of the home Churches, which send out their men to lead the nations in darkness to Christ.

The closing day of the regular proceedings of the Alliance was Saturday, but a communion service was held in the cathedral on Sunday, and there was a fraternal leave-taking in the evening in Association Hall. This communion service was a remarkable meeting. The building itself was calculated to awaken lively memories of the heroic days of Swiss Protestantism. It dates back to A. D. 1010, and in a side room of the great edifice the secret sessions of the Council of Basle were held over four centuries ago. It was a stronghold of Romanism when its power was undisputed from the frozen North Cape to sunny, vine-clad Sicily. Its grotesque and lavish stone carvings; its stately and minute wooden figures; its dark crypt and stately pillars; its strange mixture of the Byzantine and Gothic orders of architecture; its double towers, that, in the sisterly companionship of the centuries, throw their shadows down into the hasty and cheerful Rhine; its stiff but significant mounted statues of Saints George and Martin, that tell the story of Hapsburg power, and have kept ward at the doorway through the long pilgrimage of both Roman Catholic and Protestant generations; and, above all, those rich cloisters, around whose quadrangle Erasmus loved to walk and think before he ever saw English Cambridge, and sauntered along the arcadian terrace of Queen's College, force one back to the elder days, in spite of the free and hopeful present. The music from the many voices and the great organ had more than the usual lesson of Christian love to teach. The sermon was preached by the senior pastor, Dr. Stockmeyer, after which the administration of the Lord's Supper began. About two thousand persons were supposed to participate in this singularly impressive communion. Preachers and laymen approached the altar together, and it was fully three hours before the service was ended. The only reminder of nobility which one could see was the single badge of the iron cross worn by Count Bismarck-Bohlen, who sat in the altar, with other members of the Alliance. The parting services in the evening called out such a large congregation that another meeting, in an adjoining room, had to be held. At the principal meeting the speakers were Drs. Riggenbach and Arthur, and Count Bismarck-Bohlen, in the

German language; Dr. Godet, in French; and Pastor Cocorda, in Italian. Here, as in all the preceding meetings, the hymns were sung from a book prepared especially for the session, and which seemed to be in every worshiper's hand. In this little volume the great singers of nearly all of the Protestant communions were represented. The hymns were in the four chief languages of Europe and America—German, French, English, and Italian. "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," "Grand Dieu, nous Te Bénissons," "There is a Fountain filled with blood," and "Del Forte di Giacobbe," were sung by Christian people from every quarter of the compass.

An important question in connection with the Alliance was the relation of the organization to the foreign Churches which are now represented by active operations and growing influence in Germany and Switzerland. The Wesleyans of England, and the Baptists and Methodists of the United States, have succeeded so far that now they are regarded as threatening forces to the power of the State Churches. The leading theologians in the latter manifest little sympathy with them, and look on their work with suspicion, and in many instances with a want of fraternal feeling. There was, however, at the Basle session a just recognition of the right of our American missionaries in those countries to participate in all matters that concern the common interests of the Church universal. The two resident ministers of our German and Swiss Conference, Rev. Clement Achard, presiding elder of the Basle District, and Rev. Heinrich Mann, pastor of our Church in Basle, were members of the local committee, and had their full voice in the arrangements for the session. Rev. Dr. L. Nippert, the director of our Theological Seminary in Frankfort-on-the-Main, was one of the regular speakers at a devotional meeting at Association Hall, with Court-Preacher Hoffman and others. No one can say that there was not a proper recognition of our representation at the Basle session. At one of the early morning meetings, which preceded the regular sessions at ten o'clock, some one expressed his inability to co-operate with the Alliance because of its admission of the "foreign sects" into relation with it. But this spirit was promptly rebuked. Dr. Nippert said a brave and strong word in defense of our work in the Fatherland, and no one could gainsay his statements as to the pure methods of

our work. Dr. Schaff also said that all hostile expressions relating to this subject were foreign to the spirit of the Alliance, and deserved rebuke. Count Bismarck-Bohlen, who was for the time the presiding officer, said that if men from abroad come into Germany, and preach a pure gospel, and the people are attracted toward it, they are worthy of all confidence, and that if the State Churches lose their power God will place it in other hands.

The personal appearance and characteristics of some of the leading members of the Alliance were matters of no little interest to Americans who had been reading their works for many years, and yet had never seen them. Van Oosterzee is a stout, short, florid Dutchman, who moves about quickly, and has a kindly word and strong grasp for any stranger who approaches him. He has grown much older in the last decade. Before his turn came to speak he sat a little nervously in his chair, and when announced, he started up briskly, took out his manuscript, and dropped into the chair at the speaker's desk. He rubbed the perspiration from his great, beaming face, and seemed about to read his paper, and that, too, while sitting; but by a quick movement he arose, pushed aside his chair, laid his manuscript away from him, and proceeded to speak with great animation extemporaneously. His first utterances told the story at once of his being the chief orator of Dutch Protestantism. He warmed with his subject, gesticulated with subdued power, and his deep gutturals reached the furthest corners of the auditorium. He melted all hearts, and will be remembered as one of the most notable figures of the session. Orelli is a young man, not much beyond thirty, slender, pale, of great keen eyes. He wrote a book on "Through the Holy Land," which is rather sentimental than scientific. He is sustained at the Basle University by a salary given by a circle of evangelical friends and admirers. He used no manuscript, but spoke with an incisive force and emphasis, and with a spiritual unction, which produced a powerful impression. His address was a phenomenon, and from this distance of six months it stands out before us rather as a visible thing than a spiritual communication. May his slender frame stand the jostle and impulse of his masterly mind!

De Pressensé is of negligent utterance, and has grown aged



since 1866, when his now gray hair was coal-black, and his eyes were keen and piercing, instead of dull and cold, as they now are, save when the fire comes as he addresses an audience. His address on the freedom of the press was listened to with undivided attention by the multitude, who did not understand him, as he spoke in French. And yet there was something in his manner of speech that gave the audience a clear idea of what he was saying. We heard his strong words before we reached the church in which he was making his address, and when we entered the building it was difficult to get even standing-room near his desk. Pressensé represents the effort of reviving French Protestantism to get a hearing and assert its prerogatives. He threw himself into the heart of the humanitarian part of the late Franco-German war, and when peace came he became one of the national representatives. He has gained the confidence of all classes, and it is not unlikely that he will become a senator for life. Count Bismarck-Bohlen is tall and slender, and without the massive appearance of the prince, his cousin. He was attentive to all the sessions; calm, self-possessed, full of sympathy, with earnest work by every believer and every denomination. Only once did he seem to possess the fire of the family, and that was when he made an address at the close of the session. His eyes flashed with a strange brilliancy, and his whole manner was animated and magnetic.

Dr. William Arthur has been suffering for years from a throat difficulty, but has now—at least so it seemed to his hearers—entirely recovered his tone of voice. His health is not firm, yet when he speaks one comes in a moment within the power of his old charm of voice and manner. His face and whole bearing are exceedingly captivating. When he illustrated the virtue of interdenominational comity by an allusion to the benefits that come to the human body by a judicious rubbing of the surface, every one saw the aptness of his analogy, and greatly enjoyed it. He is to be a visitor to our approaching General Conference, where many who remember his former visit here will again hear him, and those who have never heard him will have the privilege of listening to one who has long been an ornament to British Methodism. Ebrard is a short, genial gentleman; brusque, ready for conversation, and full of plans for his pen in the years to come. Godet is one of the greatest

Protestants south of the Rhine, and for his keen analysis of the fundamental thoughts of Scripture, and especially for his comprehension of John's Gospel, has no superior in Europe. Dr. Rigg is well known to Americans from his two visits to this country. He has marvelous executive power, and has lost no flesh because of the arduous duties that have fallen to him through his presidency of the British Conference. His relations to the non-Wesleyan leaders of England are of the most intimate character, and honorable alike to them and him.

Dr. Nippert stands in the front of our German ministers. He has all the vigor of his earlier years, and is destined to do great service in the years to come. He wields a strong polemic pen, and his new work on "Pastoral Theology and Homiletics" will still more extend his influence.

The social features of the Alliance were peculiarly Swiss—and that means an open heart and hand. It was not expected by the Basle people that many guests would be present, and when they were surprised by the large number they set to work to entertain them in the best possible manner. The national representation of members present was as follows: From Germany, 554; Switzerland, 522; Great Britain, 252; France, 68; Holland, 63; America, 61; Belgium, 9; Italy, 7; Austria and Turkey, 6 each; Spain and Africa, 5 each; Russia, 4; East Indies, 3; Denmark, Greece, and Canada, 2 each; Sweden, 1; and 600 other delegates unclassified.

The Committee of Reception met the delegates at the railway station, and did all in their power to make them feel at home. No pains were spared to contribute to the comfort and pleasure of the guests from the beginning to the end of the session. The British branch of the Alliance, thinking that the Swiss brethren would be overburdened financially, sent them a handsome sum of money to supplement their own gifts. But this has been returned intact, the Basle people saying that they wished the gratification of meeting all expenses themselves. Afternoon garden fêtes were held in the grounds of prominent citizens, where refreshments were served, and many thousands met in all the freedom of Christian brotherhood.

## ART. IV.—DISTRICT CONFERENCES.

EVIDENTLY the problem of District Conferences is unsolved, and they have failed to be utilized as an arm of service in the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church. An organization of this character was an imperative necessity, to develop a deeper popular interest in the affairs of the Church, and to strengthen the connectional bonds of the District. There ever has been a want of unity in our Conference system for the lack of a suitable body between the Quarterly and Annual Conferences, and the friction has increased with the growth of time. There are departments of Church work that are now almost obsolete and stagnant for the lack of using proper means to convert into practical use the vast power going to waste under the existing condition of things.

With the introduction of the District Conference, the regular gradation of Conferences seemed perfected; but the legislation establishing them was defective, and the usefulness of this new department was crippled at the outset, and it has since been imperfect in its operations, and is singularly weighted with objectionable conditions. First, in the gradation, is the Quarterly Conference, having supervision of a single Circuit or Station. Second, the District Conference, comprising all the charges in a Presiding Elder's District. The members of both bodies are the same, with the exception that only one Steward and one Superintendent of the Sunday-school are admitted as representatives in the District Conference, and Trustees have no standing in the body. In the Quarterly Conference all the Stewards, Trustees, and Superintendents of Sunday-schools in each are members. Third, the Annual Conference is composed exclusively of ministers, who are wholly under the control of the appointing power. Fourth, the Judicial Conference is composed of ministers elected as Triers of Appeals from the action of the Annual Conferences, comprising members of three different Conferences to secure impartiality of review in appeal cases. Fifth, the General Conference, which has supreme supervision as the highest ecclesiastical legislature, overshadowing all other departments of the Church; and, being purely representative by ministerial and lay delegates, it

is the highest exponent of the will of the Church in all vital interests. This gradation of Conferences gives a unity and completeness to our system of government that has established harmony in every part. Take out the District Conference, and the unity and harmony of the system are disturbed, and the gap between the Quarterly and the Annual Conferences is too wide; and the consequence is, the connectional interests of the Church are neglected and must suffer. While the former Conference is almost exclusively comprised of the lay element, the latter is wholly ministerial, and the need of the blending of the clerical and lay elements in the District Conference, or some other intermediate body that will fuse the interests of both for the general good of the Church, is obviously necessary.

Legislation that provided for District Conferences, purely for Local Preachers, in 1820, and of a general character in 1872, was forced, unnatural, and the outgrowth of a pressure, wholly diverse from the natural causes that were recognized in organizing other forms of Conferences. When Mr. Wesley instituted class-meetings, the necessity for "leaders' meetings" was imperative; and, with the advance of the Church, the Annual Conference was a creation of the Founder of Methodism. What we need, as an intermediate feature, called the District Conference, is represented in the English Wesleyan body by the District Meeting and Local Preachers' Meeting; the first being organized at the first Conference after Mr. Wesley's death, while the other was instituted in 1796, by the Wesleyan Conference, which directed the Superintendents of Districts "regularly to meet the Local Preachers once a quarter; none to be admitted but those who are proposed and approved at this meeting." What has been accomplished by the Wesleyans through these channels, enforced by method, system and rigid authority worthy of the followers of John Wesley, we have imperfectly attempted by the District Conference. The incomplete working of the General Conference at first arose because it was not a delegated body, which made it necessary to perfect the organization as it is now constituted, and its authority ever since is sustained by all the law-power inherent in the Church. So the constituting of the Judicial Conference was the outcome of a necessity, and its requirements are rigidly observed. But the District Conference presents the strange anom-

aly of being *optional* in its organization. It is to be created by the consent of the parties concerned, and may be dissolved by the action of the same constituency. The seeds of its death were sown when it was ushered into being; and its sickly existence and dissolution on every hand are the natural results of imperfect legislation. How long would the Quarterly and Annual Conferences exist if option were allowed, or, indeed, any other institution of Methodist economy as it relates to Conferences?

Efforts were made by those in charge of the measure and action of the General Conference of 1872 to blend the most popular features, by combining in one body certain functions of the Quarterly Conference, a Ministerial Association for biblical and theological literary exercises, and a Sunday-school Institute, with just enough religious and literary exercises at each session to increase its popularity. Had these features been pressed more, the District Conference would now have a stronger hold upon the Church. Instead of the movement in some quarters for its extirpation from the Discipline, it would have steadily grown into favor. History amply demonstrates that the completeness and unity of Methodist economy require some kind of intermediate body between the Quarterly and Annual Conferences, by which the lay power of the Church should be employed, and that Local Preachers could be vested with some form of recognition which is not now accorded them.

The District Meeting in Great Britain, to a considerable extent, represents the District Conference in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its functions, however, are somewhat different, but it supplies the intermediate benefits; being always convened at a stated period by absolute authority, and without being held at the pleasure of a district. In the English Wesleyan system, which has no quadrennial General Conference, the Annual Conference being the highest ecclesiastical court, the District Meeting is ordered to be held in May, between certain dates, and is the second court in English Methodism. It was instituted, as stated at the first Conference after Mr. Wesley's death, "for the preservation of our whole economy." It is an important body in matters ministerial and financial, and is composed of all the ministers of the district, including supernumeraries and preachers on trial. That portion of business relating to ministerial functions is first transacted, and on the second day the laymen



appear for the purpose of considering certain connectional and financial interests.

The Methodist Church of Canada, in its recently organized form, comprised chiefly of the Wesleyans, and a dependency of the parent Conference in England, was modeled after the latter in its District Meetings, with somewhat enlarged powers and combining important functions. It is composed of all members of Conferences and probationers for the ministry, the Recording Stewards of the several circuits and missions, and one other lay representative for each minister and probationer for the ministry. The first day is devoted exclusively to ministerial affairs. The lay members of the District Meeting immediately preceding the General Conference are elected by ballot at the previous quarterly official meeting. Its business is to recommend candidates for the ministry, examine and recommend probationers, persons to be received into full connection and ordained; receive reports of trials and make regulations in reference to married men. On the second day it receives the reports from the Stewards of the circuits, recommends special grants to cases of affliction, inquires into the financial ability of probationers, elects members of the Conference committees, hears appeals of Local Preachers, recommends alterations in charges, and elects lay delegates to General Conference. There is also a Financial District Meeting required to be held in each district in September, composed of the Superintendent and a Steward from each circuit and mission, which is wholly occupied with financial matters.

In the Methodist Protestant Church each Conference is authorized to fix the number of sub-districts, and associating as many charges together as may be deemed best, composed of the pastors and such a ratio of lay representatives from each charge as it may decide necessary. The work of this District Meeting is to promote all the local and general interests of the Churches, such as missions, education, Sabbath-schools, finance, pastoral work, etc. This is the only body between the Quarterly and Annual Conferences.

The District Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, is a great agency in promoting its polity, and performs important functions not delegated to the Quarterly Conference, relieving the Annual Conference of the minute

details of certain departments of the Church. The Conference is cherished and heartily sustained by the Bishops, Presiding Elders, and preachers generally. It is composed of all the preachers in the district, traveling and local, including superannuated preachers, and of laymen to the number of the above; and their mode of appointment each Annual Conference may determine for itself. The business of the body is to consider the condition of each charge, as to their spiritual state and attendance upon the means of grace, missions, Sunday-schools, financial systems, and electing lay delegates to Annual Conferences. Prominence is given to religious exercises. It will be seen that its functions are more restricted than our District Conference in some respects. The Bishops frequently preside and vitalize every department. Through this body an interest is incited to provide for the Episcopal Fund.

The term "District Conference" in our Church was first employed in 1792, but it was originally applied to the Annual Conference, as will be seen by the following: 1792: "*Ques.* 4. Who are the members of the District Conferences? *Ans.* All the traveling preachers of the district or districts respectively who are in full connection. *Ques.* 5. How often are the District Conferences to be held? *Ans.* Annually." In 1796 the word "Yearly" was substituted for "District." In 1800 "Annual" took the place of "Yearly" Conference, and it has remained the same from that time to the present. According to a record examined, a "District Conference" was held in 1805, at Leesburgh, Va., in the bounds of the old Baltimore Conference, by William M'Kendree, President; Nicholas Snethen, Secretary. The only act recorded was defining rules on "Slavery," and here the record of its proceedings abruptly ceases.

Petitions had been presented from Local Preachers to the General Conference which met at Baltimore, Md., in 1820, asking for the organization of District Conferences, to enable them to enjoy certain rights, which they alleged were denied them; and the demand was intensified by the controversy which was then agitating the Church, called the "Reform" movement, which culminated in a secession and the organization of the Methodist Protestant Church. The Bishops had called attention to the desirability of some action on the subject. Dr. Bangs' "History of the Methodist Episcopal

Church," referring to this important change says: "A little uneasiness had been manifested at times by some of the Local Preachers, because they thought they had been abridged of some of their rights in not being permitted to be examined, licensed, and tried by their peers exclusively. To remove the cause of their dissatisfaction by granting them the privilege of transacting the business which related to themselves exclusively, this General Conference (1820) created a 'District Conference,' to be composed of all the Local Preachers in the Presiding Elder's district who shall have been licensed two years."

A special committee, comprising the late Dr. Martin Ruter, Bishop Capers, and three others, framed a plan of a District Conference, and it passed May 18, 1820; the features of which may be gathered from the following condensation: The Presiding Elder of the district, or, in his absence, such person as the District Meeting might elect for the purpose, was to be President. The Conference was authorized to grant licenses to proper persons to preach as Local Preachers, to renew their licenses, to recommend to Annual Conferences suitable persons for Deacon's and Elder's orders in the local ministry, for admission on trial in an Annual Conference, to try, suspend, expel, or acquit such Local Preachers as might be accused; but it could not license any man to preach unless he was recommended by a Quarterly Conference. In fact, all the powers formerly belonging to the Quarterly Conference which related to Local Preachers, except simply the privilege of recommending candidates for the office of the local ministry, were transferred to this District Conference. At the session of the General Conference in Baltimore, May, 1824, the seat of the "Radical" controversy, on May 12 a resolution was offered to do away with District Conferences, and make all ordained Local Preachers members of Annual Conferences, which was lost. Dr. W. Winans, of the Mississippi Conference, subsequently reported on behalf of the Committee on Local Preachers, that petitions had been considered for and against District Conferences, and that the request to allow a delegation of Local Preachers to the General Conference was inexpedient; and the report then recommended amendments to the chapter in the Discipline that when District Conferences were not held, or failed to transact all the business necessary, the Quarterly Conference was authorized to transact it.

Also licenses were ordered to be renewed annually, and a clause inserted making it necessary for admission into the traveling connection to be first recommended by the Quarterly Conference. When the General Conference assembled in Pittsburgh, Pa., May, 1828, while the "Radical" controversy was at high-tide, under the lead of M'Caine, Jennings, Snethen, Shinn, Brown, and others, the organization existed more in letter than in practice. This General Conference provided that a majority of the members of a District Conference should be a "quorum to do business." Action was taken by inserting a clause, "*Provided*, that no person shall be licensed to preach without the recommendation of the Society of which he is a member, or of a Leaders' Meeting." By the time the General Conference convened in Philadelphia, in May, 1832, the organization seemed to exist more in name than in fact, and its death-knell was virtually secured, without seriously affecting the condition or relation of Local Preachers, as the Quarterly Conference was fully competent to perform any or all functions neglected by the District Conference. When the General Conference assembled in Cincinnati, O., May, 1836, it was found that causes had grown up, almost wholly outside of the organization itself, that had antagonized its design, and rendered it inoperative. Its abandonment was but a mere formal action, and every thing relating to Local Preachers was relegated back again to the Quarterly Conference, to the same condition in which they were previous to 1820.

A wide-spread feeling, gathering *momentum* for years, existed, that an intermediate Conference, so useful among the English Wesleyans, and so potent as an arm of denominational power in the Methodist Episcopal Church South, was absolutely necessary. The culmination of the lay sentiment in the Church by the introduction of laymen into the General Conference made the necessity still more imperative that a mixed body should exist, and possibly the two progressive steps would help to make the solution of the introduction of laymen into all bodies to "confer" on the interests of Methodism. Under this condition of sentiment in the Church the Bishops, in their Address to the General Conference of 1872, wisely recommended attention to the subject of District Conferences: "We deem this (District Conferences) a matter of considerable practical

importance, and think if such Conferences were carefully constituted, and their duties and prerogatives strictly defined, they might be rendered highly useful. In our opinion there should be two sessions held annually; the first near the commencement, and the second near the close, of the Conference year."

In the distribution of the portions of this able address to the standing committees, the question of District Conferences fell to the jurisdiction of the Committee on the Itinerancy; but the exciting discussions on the Presiding Elder and other live questions overshadowed every other subject; and it is evident the same unfortunate misapprehension of the character, place, and work of District Conferences possessed the minds of the majority of its members then, as has clouded so many minds since it became a law; and on May 29 the Committee reported adversely to the organization of District Conferences. Subsequently, in debate in the General Conference, it was stated that a minority reported in favor of the measure.

The following bit of history is in place. At the sixth annual session of the National Local Preachers' Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, a deputation was appointed to visit the General Conference at Philadelphia, May, 1864. A similar deputation waited upon the General Conference in May, 1868, at which time some conference was "held on the subject of District Conferences for Local Preachers." Assurances were given by the Committee on Local Preachers that any well-matured and defined memorial to the General Conference on the subject would receive respectful attention and be granted. The deputation reported back these friendly assurances to their constituents at the annual session in October, 1868; also, the report of the committee of the General Conference in response to the memorial presented in May previous. Considerable discussion took place on the subject of District Conferences, and the outline of a plan was adopted. Brief action followed at each annual session succeeding, and at the annual meeting in October, 1871, a memorial was ordered to be carried and presented by a deputation of ten to the General Conference at Brooklyn, N. Y., May, 1872.

Dr. Daniel Curry was intrusted with the duty of presenting the memorial and accompanying fraternal papers of the deputation, which he did by special permission on the thirteenth day



of the session, and they were referred to the Committee on the State of the Church, of which he was the chairman. The memorial was as follows:

*Resolved*, That we memorialize the General Conference, as follows:

1. To organize in each Presiding Elder's district a District Conference, to be composed of all the Traveling and Local Preachers in the district, and to be presided over by the Presiding Elder, and meet semi-annually.

2. To give this District Conference authority to receive, license, try, and expel Local Preachers, and also to recommend suitable persons to the Annual Conference, to be received into the traveling connection and for ordination as Local Deacons and Elders.

3. To authorize the District Conference to assign to each Local Preacher a field of labor, and hold him strictly responsible for an efficient performance of his work.

Through the indomitable will and ability of the chairman, a friendly committee, and the faithful members of the deputations, the chapter on District Conferences was reported on the twenty-ninth day, and after a short but incisive debate, at the waning hours of the quadrennial session, it was passed and incorporated in the Discipline. It is evident from the discussion that ensued when it was reported to the Conference, that some sturdy blows in favor of the measure had been dealt in the Committee of the Itinerancy; and the point raised in the discussion in its favor, and ably sustained, was, that the measure deserved at least a trial, and that it was intensifying the recent action in favor of the laity, as laymen were constituted members of that body.

The chapter opens with reference to the action being in response to the memorial of the National Local Preachers' Association on the subject, and that portions of it and other suitable features were adopted. The full text of the chapter on District Conferences is as follows:

The District Conferences shall be composed of the Traveling and Local Preachers, the Exhorters, the District Stewards, and the Sunday-school Superintendents in the District. But if there shall be more than one Sunday-school Superintendent in any Circuit or Station, then the Quarterly Conference shall designate one of them for this service.

The District Conference shall meet twice each year, at such time and place as the Presiding Elder shall designate for the

first meeting after the adoption of this plan by any district ; but the District Conference shall, at each meeting, determine the place for its next meeting, the time to be fixed by the Presiding Elder. The first District Conference for the year shall be held in the early part of it ; the second, near the close.

The Presiding Elder shall preside in the District Conferences. In his absence the District Conference shall choose their own President by ballot from among the Traveling Elders.

The Minutes of the District Conference shall be kept by a Secretary chosen by the Conference. The Minutes shall be carefully recorded in a book provided for the purpose, and kept by the Secretary for future use or reference.

The regular business of the District Conference shall be,

1. To take the general oversight of all the temporal and spiritual affairs of the district, subject to the provisions of the Discipline.

2. To take cognizance of all the Local Preachers and Exhorters in the district, and to inquire respecting the gifts, labors, and usefulness of each by name, and to arrange a plan of appointments for each for the ensuing half year.

3. To hear complaints against Local Preachers ; to try, suspend, deprive of ministerial office and credentials, expel or acquit any Local Preacher against whom charges may be preferred.

4. To license Local Preachers, and to recommend to the Annual Conference Local Preachers as suitable candidates for Deacons or Elders' Orders, and for admission on trial in the Traveling Connection ; *provided*, That no person shall be licensed to preach, nor recommended for orders, nor for admission in the Traveling Connection, without the recommendation of the Quarterly Conference, or of the Stewards and Leaders' meeting of the Circuit or Station of which he is a member ; and in all cases the candidates shall first pass a satisfactory examination in doctrine and discipline.

5. To inquire whether all the collections for the benevolent institutions of the Church, as recognized by the Discipline, are properly attended to in all the Circuits and Stations, and to adopt suitable measures for promoting their success.

6. To inquire into the condition of the Sunday-schools in the district, and to adopt suitable measures for insuring their success.

7. To inquire respecting opportunities for Missionary and Church Extension enterprises within the district, and take measures for the occupation of any neglected portions of its territories by mission Sunday-schools and appointments for public worship.

8. To provide for appropriate religious and literary exercises during its sessions for the mutual benefit of those attending upon them.

9. The District Stewards shall, at the place, and at or near the time, of the first District Conference for the year, make their estimate for the support of the Presiding Elder, as provided for in section 478.

The provisions of this section shall be of force and binding only in those districts in which the Quarterly Conferences of a majority of the Circuits and Stations shall have approved it by asking the Presiding Elder to convene the District Conference as herein provided. In those districts in which District Conferences shall be held the power by this section given to the District Conferences shall not be exercised by the Quarterly Conferences. In all other cases their powers shall remain as heretofore provided.

Although the character of the instituted body was different from what was petitioned for in the memorial, and in spite of its being optional with districts to organize it, it was decided by the National Local Preachers' Association to accept the action in good faith, and await for a clearer recognition of their wishes at another time. In the fall, previous to the General Conference of 1876, a deputation of thirteen was appointed to proceed to Baltimore and present a fraternal address, including the following memorial:

*Resolved*, That we memorialize the General Conference to make such changes in the Discipline as will make the District Conference obligatory and not optional, as at present.

2. That we recommend such disciplinary measures as will make our Local Preachers more effective in their sphere of labor, and in cases where Local Ministers are ineffective from any cause, except mental or physical disability, their parchments or licenses be taken away from them and they be silenced.

The memorial and papers, at the suggestion of Dr. Curry, were referred to the Committee on Revisals, but were afterward transferred to the Committee on the Itinerancy. The Presiding Eldership question was in the crucible before this Committee, and a fiery debate raged during most of the session of that body; and a sub-committee revised and enlarged the scope of the section, and it was reported to Conference and adopted, with a clause designating the mode of its dissolution by any district after the vote of the same and concurrence of a majority of the Quarterly Conferences. This change just suited the views of many Presiding Elders and others, who were unwilling to make the District Conference a success. A power exercised upon the same ground would abolish Quarterly Conferences; for certainly, if interest and numbers in attendance were the test, the most of them would be voted out of existence.

The full text of the revised and enlarged action is as follows :

*Resolved*, That Part II, Chapter i, section 3 of the Discipline be amended so that it shall read as follows :

#### THE DISTRICT CONFERENCES.

113. The District Conferences shall be composed of the Traveling and Local Preachers, the Exhorters, the District Stewards, and one Sunday-school Superintendent and one Class-leader from each pastoral charge in the District. But if there shall be more than one Sunday-school Superintendent in any Circuit or Station, then the Quarterly Conference shall designate one of them for this service; and it shall also select the Class-leader.

114. The District Conference shall meet once or twice each year in each Presiding Elder's District, as each District Conference shall determine for itself, at such time and place as the Presiding Elder shall designate for the first meeting after the adoption of this plan by the District; but the District Conference shall, at each meeting, determine the place for its next meeting, the time to be fixed by the Presiding Elder.

115. A Bishop, when present, shall preside at the District Conference. If no Bishop be present, the Presiding Elder of the District shall preside. And if both be absent, the District Conference shall choose its own President by ballot from among the Traveling Elders.

116. A record of the proceedings of each District Conference shall be kept by a Secretary chosen for the purpose, and a copy of the said record shall be sent to the ensuing Annual Conference.

117. The regular business of the District Conference shall be:

118. I. To take the general oversight of all the temporal and spiritual affairs of the district, subject to the provisions of the Discipline.

119. II. To take cognizance of all the Local Preachers and Exhorters in the district, and to inquire respecting the gifts, labors, and usefulness of each by name, and to arrange a plan of appointments for each until the next District Conference.

120. III. To hear complaints against Local Preachers; to try, suspend, deprive of ministerial office and credentials, expel or acquit any Local Preacher against whom charges may be preferred.

121. IV. To license Local Preachers, to renew the licenses of Local Preachers and Exhorters, and to recommend to the Annual Conference Local Preachers as suitable candidates for Deacon's or Elder's orders, and for admission on trial in the Traveling Connection; *provided*, That no person shall be licensed to preach, or his license to preach or exhort be renewed, or be recommended for orders or for admission in the Traveling Connection, without the recommendation of the Quarterly Conference, or of the Stewards and Leaders' Meeting, of the Circuit or Station of which he is a member; and in all cases the candidate shall first pass a satisfactory examination in such course of studies as the Bishops shall

prescribe. The District Conference shall also have the power given to the Quarterly Conference in Part II, Chapter ii, section 12, relating to the recognition of orders.

122. V. To inquire whether all the collections for the benevolent institutions of the Church, as recognized by the Discipline, are properly attended to in all the Circuits and Stations, and to adopt suitable measures for promoting their success.

123. VI. To inquire into the condition of the Sunday-schools in the district, and to adopt suitable measures for insuring their success.

124. VII. To inquire respecting opportunities for Missionary and Church Extension enterprises within the district, and to take measures for the occupation of any neglected portions of its territory by Missions, Sunday-schools, and appointments for public worship.

125. VIII. To provide for appropriate religious and literary exercises during the sessions, for the mutual benefit of those attending upon them.

126. The order of business of the District Conference shall be:

1. To inquire what members of the District Conference are present.

2. To appoint committees on—

(1.) Examination of candidates for license to preach.

(2.) Examination of Local Preachers in each of the four years of the course of study.

(3.) Examination of candidates for admission into the Traveling Connection.

(4.) Examination of candidates for orders.

(5.) Home mission work.

(6.) Appointments of Local Preachers and Exhorters.

(7.) Apportionment to each charge of the amounts to be raised for benevolent purposes.

(8.) Programme of religious and literary exercises for next meeting.

(9.) Miscellaneous matters.

3. To receive reports—

(1.) From the Presiding Elder as to the condition of the work under his charge, and his own work as Presiding Elder.

(2.) From each pastor as to the religious condition of his charge, his pastoral labors, benevolent collections, and the circulation of our Church periodicals and books.

(3.) From each Local Preacher, the form of which report shall be prescribed by each District Conference.

(4.) From each Exhorter, including a statement of the prayer-meetings he has held, and other work done, especially in destitute places, and among the sick and the poor.

(5.) From each District Steward as to the temporal affairs of the charge he represents.

(6.) From each Superintendent as to the condition of the Sunday-schools of the charge he represents.



(7.) From each Class-leader as to the condition of the classes of the charge he represents.

(8.) From each Committee.

4. To inquire concerning Local Preachers—

(1.) Are there any charges or complaints?

(2.) Who shall have their licenses renewed?

(3.) Who shall be licensed to preach?

(4.) Who shall be recommended for ordination?

(5.) Who shall be recommended for recognition of orders?

(6.) Who shall be recommended for admission into the Traveling Connection?

(7.) Where are Local Preachers stationed?

5. To inquire concerning Exhorters—

(1.) Who shall have their licenses renewed?

(2.) What work is assigned each Exhorter?

6. Where shall the next District Conference be held?

7. Is there any other business?

The order of business may be varied and the business interspersed with such literary and religious exercises as the Conference may direct.

127. The provisions of this section shall be of force and binding only in those districts in which the Quarterly Conferences of a majority of the Circuits and Stations shall have approved it by asking the Presiding Elder to convene the District Conference, as herein provided. A District Conference may be discontinued by a vote of two thirds of the members present, at any regular session, notice thereof having been given at a previous session, and with the concurrence of three fourths of the Quarterly Conferences in the district. In those districts in which District Conferences shall be held, the powers by this section given to the District Conferences shall not be exercised by the Quarterly Conferences. In all other cases their powers shall remain as heretofore provided.

Vigorous efforts were soon after employed by some administrators to effect the early dissolution of District Conferences at important localities, and also to so spread their adverse action before the Church as to intimidate and influence other sections that were inclined to abandon them. This action is the more unseemly, as the institution is popular in our Southern territory, and, indeed, necessary to accomplish results similar to those in the Church South. In the North-west it is an important factor in promoting connectional interests, and, as a general thing, is prospering in the West. The wise utterances of Dr. Crary, a veteran editor and Presiding Elder in far-off Colorado, have a ring of logic that cannot be resisted. He writes that to repeal the

law now would be a stupendous error, and a gross injustice to the mission fields, the frontier, and to the South, where District Conferences are most prized. The fatal blunder in the law is that miserable section which leaves it optional with the district to carry it out or not. In the Middle tier of States no uniform action prevails, and much depends upon the character of the Presiding Elder in popularizing the exercises and routine questions so as to invest the sessions with attraction.

There are points on the southern and eastern coasts that have resisted, with studied indifference, the mandate of the Church to give the institution a fair experiment, preferring to hide themselves behind a mere technicality and privilege, and thus depreciate an organization they know nothing about practically. Among the hopeful signs that assure the friends of the measure, and indicate a vigorous defense against its entire abolition at the next General Conference, is the wise concession made by the District Conferences which include that healthy spot in Methodism, Philadelphia—that, while there are objectionable features in the present section, which led to steps toward dissolution at first, the feeling steadily grows that some organization is necessary to complete the unity of the wheels within the wheel, and the duty now is to solve that problem and avoid hasty action. This is the view of Bishop Simpson, namely, that there is needed some kind of an organization to aid in promoting our connectional interests, and other work which the Quarterly Conference is unable to perform because of its local and limited powers, while the Annual Conference has not time at command for such business as the District Conference, or some body of a similar character, could do. A purely ministerial body cannot act for the laity, and hence the greater necessity for a mixed ecclesiastical court such as has been in force over a century in England, and which we must come to sooner or later. Bishop Simpson expresses the idea in his valuable work, the “Cyclopædia of Methodism,” (see page 301:) “Where they (District Conferences) have been used and properly conducted, they have been found valuable in developing a deeper interest in the affairs of the Church, and in strengthening the connectional bonds of the district.” Bishop Peck, and other Bishops, have given utterance to similar views, the former in much stronger language than the words quoted. Dr. Fry, of the “Central,”

in an able editorial, advocates the reconstruction of the District Conference as the best means of restoring the ancient acquaintance of the Bishops with the Churches, lost since Asbury's time by the wide extension of our work, and outlines what should be its character. We quote :

It should absorb to such an extent the functions of the Quarterly Conference, that the largest Annual Conference would not require more than three or four districts. The District Conference should meet twice a year, and a Bishop should always be present and preside, as at the Annual Conference. These District Conferences would afford him an insight into the condition of the charges that could not be obtained in any other way. It would greatly extend his personal intercourse with both the preachers and the people, and restore to some extent the pastoral relation of the Bishops of the Church, which has nearly been lost under the present system.

Coming so near the eighteenth delegated quadrennial session of the General Conference, there is naturally some solicitude on the part of the friends of District Conferences. In this institution the National Local Preachers' Association have a vital interest ; and they have taken action on the subject, and appointed a strong deputation to present and urge their memorial. Chief above every personal consideration is the desire now and always expressed by that body, to ask for such an organization as will elevate the standard of ministerial usefulness and acceptability, and render this class of uncompensated preachers more useful and effective. They ask to be authorized to see that all who are admitted into the relation are worthy of it, to judge of their qualifications and continuance, to weed out the incompetent and useless, and to keep the ermine of ministerial purity under close surveillance, as cannot be done by the narrowed circle of a small Quarterly Conference. This, it is believed, can be accomplished best through the District Conference, or a body with similar powers. The same liberal spirit that was shown in their memorial, which led to the action of the General Conference in 1872, in associating the Traveling with the Local Preachers, is felt now in the action sought to be accomplished in May, 1880, and which was tacitly desired in the revision of 1876, either to be joined with the itinerants in an organization, or a provision inserted to hold a separate session at the same meeting for Local Preachers. In whatever form

the General Conference may recast the District Conference, they ask that its meetings shall be mandatory and not optional, and this requisition to be applicable to all concerned. Let this be done, and the declaration that Local Preachers do not attend because they feel ignored will no longer be true, as they are noted for being as obedient sons in the Gospel as any other class of ministers.

The National Local Preachers' Association at their late session in Troy, N. Y., adopted the following :

*Resolved*, That we memorialize the General Conference :

1. To organize the Local Preachers, either by districts or Conferences, under the presidency of a Bishop or Presiding Elder.
2. That such organization be given authority to license Local Preachers, persons recommended by the Quarterly Conference, and to try and expel Local Preachers, and also to recommend Local Preachers to be received on trial in the Annual Conference.

With some slight modifications in the section and provisions made for the just demands of Local Preachers, either by having a better recognition of their position and rights, or by their having a sub-District Conference for their benefit exclusively, the present section may be made acceptable, and can be easily carried out if it has an administrator who does not desire defeat. The routine disciplinary part may drag in the hands of a Bishop at an Annual Conference ; or a Presiding Elder may make a Quarterly Conference dull and prosy ; and so a District Conference may be duller than either, if the chairman allows long, rambling, verbal reports, with nothing in them, to occupy the principal time. Reports should be brief and pertinent. Considerable time should be given to popular exercises to interest the people. Part of the day exercises should be of a biblical and literary character, and the evenings should be largely devoted to religious exercises, and the social element be blended and infused in every part. Careful preparation for these meetings, the occasion well announced, and the introduction of popular features, will insure a grand success. It is proper to note, that while the National Local Preachers' Association seeks to elevate the standard of ministerial ability, and to have more systematic methods to increase their efficiency and accomplish greater successes, yet they think that the present interpretation of the law,

requiring a course of study for unordained Local Preachers and candidates for license, is hardly warranted by the Discipline, or by the action of the General Conference, so as to be applied strictly to aged Local Preachers who have spent scores of years in the ministry and are yet not ordained, so that they should be refused a renewal of their license and humiliated because they are unable to study by the course of the District Conference. Let the law be applied to those who enter the ministry, and young Local Preachers, without making the rule retrospective upon the class of aged veterans.

It is difficult to picture the ideal District Conference that will meet the requirements of the administrators and members of these bodies, but an outline sketch might be ventured. A body of this character should, in order to save time and expense, combine the elements of a Ministerial Association, District Sunday-school Institute, and a District Stewards' Meeting, and thus make one organization, and render it more effective and useful to every charge and to the connectional interests of the district. The essays should be broader and more practical than usually read at ministerial meetings, embracing questions of polity and the benevolent institutions, and thereby reaching ministers and members. The Sunday-school cause might be greatly stimulated under associated efforts, both by reports and special exercises. District Stewards have an opportunity to learn the condition of each charge in the district, and to act intelligently in their work. The holding of separate meetings for the above-named various objects is a wastage that should be avoided, as all the interests could be easily blended into one meeting. That portion of the disciplinary questions relegated from the Quarterly Conference to the District Conference may be rendered more effective in a larger body. Work may be done by a mixed one that could not be accomplished through a strictly ministerial membership, and the more the ministry and laity are blended together in considering the educational, benevolent, and financial interests of the Church, the better. Connectional objects and the social element may be stimulated, intensified, and revolutionized through this channel. The present chapter may be made to meet the highest ideal by grafting the part desired by Local Preachers, making the holding of its sessions absolute, and leaving the power of dissolution to the General



Conference. With these characteristics a skillful administrator can make District Conferences a popular and useful organization, just as he has the power in a great measure to make his quarterly visitation to the Churches popular.

What are the comparative gains from a well-conducted District Conference?

1. This body comprises all classes of officials in the Church, except Trustees. It imposes a specific duty on the Presiding Elder, the Traveling and Local Preachers—the former to give an account of his work, and the latter to do likewise, and to be subject to examination of character and relicense if unordained; it requires exhorters to pass through the same steps, and Superintendents to report the condition of their schools; and it recognizes the District Steward. Under this head we note: (1.) The Presiding Elder's authority is not diminished, nor his quarterly visitations impaired. While, to some extent, the disciplinary questions and answers are the same in the District and in the Quarterly Conference, there is this advantage in the former, that the reports from the respective pastors act as a *stimulus* upon each other, and their statements are fuller and more inspiring. (2.) Pastors are brought into contact with other Pastors, and the reports, in their diversified form, are apt to produce aggressive and more liberal views. (3.) The careful examination of Local Preachers and Exhorters before disinterested persons from all parts of the district, relicensing them upon their merits and suitability for the office, is a much more thorough method than is attained by the Quarterly Conferences. This careful scrutiny of character and inquiry into the work of Local Preachers will have a salutary effect upon them. Their official recognition and assignment to systematic work, so far as possible, opens their way to favor with the people and to greater usefulness. (4.) Pastors alone are required to report the Sunday-schools to Quarterly Conferences, while the District Conference exacts reports from the Superintendent as well as from the Pastor. (5.) District Stewards become acquainted with the real condition of each charge, and this information furnishes each with an understanding of his duties which he cannot acquire elsewhere.

2. Taking into account the representations of the ministry and laymen brought together to consult and discuss questions

of finance, various departments of Church labor, examination of ministerial character and cultivation of the social element, the District Conference, if properly conducted, may advance every interest, and in time become a wonderful power in the Church. It should also supervise certain financial and kindred matters which the Annual Conference is unable to do, while in session, because of other pressing duties.

3. The communities unable to entertain an Annual Conference would readily sustain a District Conference. While their proceedings are unlike in most respects, yet the public services of the latter especially are greatly enjoyed, and leave a salutary influence wherever they are held.

4. All the members of a District Conference generally participate in its discussions and business, while but comparatively few do so at an Annual Conference on matters beyond what relates to themselves. The preparation of essays and special addresses and the discussions which follow, as well as in the transaction of routine proceedings, secure a discipline for the mind of young ministers which they might not obtain readily at a session of an Annual Conference. These Conferences develop latent talent in ministers which might never have been seen elsewhere.

5. Members of the Church have an opportunity to hear questions of polity and doctrine, as well as finance, discussed as they are not likely to hear them anywhere else. Everything which tends to disseminate light and knowledge of the wants and demands of Methodism benefits the ministry and members of the Church, and this the District Conference may do.

6. The intermingling of ministers and laymen of a district cannot fail to produce good results. The social element can be cultivated, and a bond of unity established that will enhance the interests of the district. Already many invaluable acquaintances have been formed at various District Conferences, which might never have been obtained by any other means.

These are a few of the advantages growing out of a well-conducted and spirited District Conference.

ART. V.—SHALL EDUCATION BY THE STATE BE  
EXCLUSIVELY SECULAR?

It is but too apparent that the Republic of the United States is passing through a transitional, if not, indeed, a revolutionary period. Questions of gravest import are coming before us for adjustment or readjustment; questions fundamental to the perpetuity of the nation, and freighted with its hopes and interests.

Among these questions none is more grave or vital than that of education in all its relations and applications; but especially is the relation of the nation or State to the education of its future citizens of pre-eminent importance. Shall the State educate its youth? Shall it employ compulsory methods? To what extent shall State or national education be carried? Shall it embrace primary education only, or include secondary as well, or advance through all the grades of higher culture, even to the college and the university? And, more important still, what shall be the character of the State's educational work? Shall it be purely secular, or all inclusive, embracing the entire nature of its subjects and having respect to their entire fitness for future citizenship? These important questions cannot receive any extended consideration in the brief limits of this article. We can only give a hasty glance and a passing word to some of them in their specific form, but hope to elucidate certain fundamental principles relating to the generic question of *What the State shall teach, or the education requisite for American citizenship.*

It is, perhaps, needless to start the question, whether the State shall educate its youth at all. Popular education, under government patronage and support, is an established institution in the United States; an institution deeply rooted in the popular heart, and which will not be surrendered without a struggle. It is too late in the history of our government to discuss that question in its simple form. It is not, however, too late to inquire concerning the reasons which underlie this cherished institution, the foundation principles on which it rests. We may legitimately ask, then, what are the ends sought in our system of common-school education? The answer is neither difficult nor doubtful. Qualification for citizenship, preparation for

the manifold duties of life, protection to the interests of society, the safety, perpetuity, and prosperity of the nation—these are the ends sought and believed to be secured by the education which the State maintains at public expense. If these are the acknowledged and unquestioned ends sought, it is certainly a legitimate and important question which presses with imperative force upon us, *How are these ends best secured?* If the State proposes to accomplish certain definite ends, and employs certain well-defined means for that purpose, its citizens, who are taxed for the object contemplated, have a right to inquire as to the adaptation of the means to the end; and whether the end *is really secured* by the agencies employed. Here, then, comes before us, properly and forcibly, the question as to the character of our common-school education: what it actually *is*, what it *should* be in order to justify the State in supporting it? It will be answered that the ends proposed are secured by imparting knowledge to youth that they may become intelligent. But such an answer is vague and partial, and quite unsatisfactory to thoughtful people. *How much knowledge* does it require to make a man a good and safe citizen? Does simple *intelligence*, meaning by the term an intellectual knowledge of certain branches of study, constitute all, or even the most important part, of *education*? Are the ends which the State seeks and which its safety demands realized by any such meager and partial methods of education? Does it follow that because a child can read and write, or has passed through a more extended literary course, he is *thereby* qualified for the solemn and responsible duties of society, and of becoming a personal and potent factor in the social and civil institutions of a great republic? This vital question, deeper and broader and graver than all others relating to education, is the question which in some form is being rapidly pressed to the front in our country, and demands immediate and thoughtful consideration. The question, when reduced to its more specific form, is this: *Shall the education given by the State be purely and exclusively secular?* The subject is not a theoretical one merely. In several localities it has taken a very decidedly practical form. It is before some of the State legislatures for discussion and decision. Local school boards have it on their hands, and some of them are pressing it to a speedy settle-

ment. Teachers are called upon to adjust their daily work with this question ever before them. There is a party in every State, daily increasing in numerical strength, becoming more emphatic in its utterances, more pronounced in its attitude, whose avowed object is completely to secularize and atheize the State and the nation in all their work and in all their relations to State institutions and individual subjects. It is important that every intelligent citizen should have a thorough understanding of the subject, and be prepared for wise and prompt action in relation thereto. We do not propose to view the subject from the stand-point of a Christian minister, nor that of a devoted Protestant, nor even in the light of pure, unsectarian Christianity. We prefer to discuss it upon other and lower grounds, and view it as a simple citizen, in the light of sound, worldly sense, of true philosophy, and of undeniable history. Without bigotry, without sectarian prejudices, without bias, assuming nothing but the common principles of morality and theistic or natural religion, let us approach this subject, seeking to know only what is truth, what is right, and wherein lies the greatest good for the greatest number.

I. A complete secularization of our public instruction so as essentially to exclude moral and religious education would be thoroughly *unphilosophical*. To do this is to ignore the true end of education. What is that end? The united testimony of all recognized authority harmonizes with the judgment of all thoughtful persons in answering this question. Pestalozzi, whose place as an educator is universally recognized, and of whom it has been truly said that he has exerted a greater influence than any other man on education in England, America, and the north of Europe, states as his first principle that "*education relates to the whole man*, and consists in the drawing forth, strengthening, and perfecting *all the faculties* with which an all-wise Creator has endowed him, physical, intellectual, and moral." "Education," he says, "has to do with the hand, the head, and the heart." Herbert Spencer will surely not be charged with any bias toward Puritanism in matters of education, but he affirms that the one end of all true education is to learn "how to use all our faculties to the greatest advantage of ourselves and others," or, in other words, "how to live completely. And this, being the great thing needful for us to



learn, is, by consequence, the great thing which education has to teach. To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge; and the only rational mode of judging of any educational course is to judge in what degree it discharges that function."

What an utter neglect of this true and philosophic end of education is manifest in a system that proposes only to furnish the mind with a few facts, or subject it to the discipline of a few intellectual processes. Such a system also ignores entirely the true nature of the child. It takes but the most partial and imperfect view of him. In the estimation of such a theory he is a being capable of learning combinations of figures, of chattering grammatical sentences, of remembering incidents and dates of history, and nothing more. That he is a moral being, that he has a conscience, that the awakening and culture of his moral nature is absolutely essential to all true development, that unless this is done no worthy end of education is ever realized and no real success in life is ever achieved, all this is forgotten or treated with supreme indifference, not to say contempt. The noblest part of our nature is thus untouched, its highest functions are never employed, and no appeal is ever made to its most inspiring motives. To expect any valuable results from such an unphilosophical and irrational process is to insult reason and defy logical sequences. As well might you attempt to execute a difficult piece of music upon an organ without touching its principal keys or employing its most important pipes; as well attempt to solve a trigonometrical problem without a knowledge of the multiplication table. You can as soon make a scholar out of a child by throwing a spelling book and grammar at his head, as you can make him a useful member of society by stuffing him with readers, geographies, and arithmetics.

This unnatural and unreasonable method strikes with paralyzing force the teacher, and prevents his accomplishing the very work he is aiming to do. What is the teacher's real work? again we ask. To aid the pupil in the development of a true character, to qualify him for a worthy life, to render him a proper subject for citizenship and society. How shall he accomplish this all-important work? Evidently by using the limited time he has to the best possible advantage; by touching every key in that marvelous organism which will respond

to the touch, by appealing to every susceptibility and every motive, by awakening every dormant energy, and especially by calling into play those powers and emphasizing those duties most essential to genuine manhood and womanhood. The true teacher does this by bringing *himself*, his whole moral and intellectual being, into sympathetic contact with his pupil's entire being. Hence it depends upon the teacher himself, his character, his culture, his personal influence, more than upon his mechanical methods of teaching, as to what kind of education his pupils will receive. Thus the genuine teacher is more than all text-books, more than all apparatus and all methods, more than every thing else in the work of true education.

When Pestalozzi was carrying on his great work in the old convent of Stanz, "his whole school apparatus consisted of himself and his pupils." But that was immeasurably more than all the apparatus of modern times *minus* the mighty personality of the strong-souled teacher himself. Yet of what avail is this transcendent factor in all the work of education—the personal force of the teacher—if it is to be limited to drilling the pupil's mind with figures or stuffing it with facts; or, in other words, if all the moral and spiritual force of the teacher is to be deprived of its legitimate effect, and his work is circumscribed within the narrow and beggarly limits of purely secular studies? Developed, ennobled, made great himself and worthy of his position by reason of his communion with truth in all her vast domain; in the realms of nature, of life, of duty, of destiny, and of God, he cannot, forsooth, lift his pupils to these lofty altitudes, he must not speak of these solemn sublimities and sacred verities, because *that* would be transcending the province of the State, whose work is to teach its ward to read and spell and cipher.

Could any theory or process of education more completely stultify the teacher and stunt the pupil than this? With such a theory character is nothing in teacher or pupil; the teacher who can cram the most multiplication table and spelling book into the child's mind in a given time, by whatever method or mechanism, bears off the palm, and is the State's best educational agent. How belittling such a view of education is to the teacher, how subversive of the high and noble ends he ought to seek, and how utterly at variance with every principle of sound

philosophy, is apparent to every thoughtful person. Yet such is the legitimate sequence of the vaunted secular theory of common-school instruction.

This theory of education, also, when practically carried into effect, is subversive of the very object for which the public schools are maintained. What is that object? Confessedly a *moral* one, the prevention of crime, the moral qualification of the present child for the future citizen. All advocates of education agree in this. "Remove ignorance and thus prevent crime," is their constant cry. No class of persons are louder or more persistent in the advocacy of this theory than the secularists themselves. With this conclusion we may not be able fully to agree, but that the end sought in all State education is a moral one is clearly evident. This must be admitted to be the ultimate end in view. No other or lower end would justify the State in taxing its subjects for educational purposes. Education is supported at public expense for the same reason that government itself, in its various departments, is maintained, and that courts of justice are established—because the moral interests, the *well-being* of the nation, demand it. Hence it is the legitimate province of the State to tax its citizens for schools, because of their supposed necessity to its moral welfare. But the very acknowledgment that the end is a moral one is fatal to the theory of purely secular instruction. A moral end is the pre-eminent purpose in view; but, forsooth, the moral nature of the child must not be the objective point in your instructions, and you must take good care not to use moral methods, nor deal with moral truths, nor appeal to moral motives. You must not appeal to the Deity, a belief in whom underlies the moral nature, nor to the Bible, the highest and purest text-book of morals extant, for *that* would be obnoxious to some one's prejudices, and subject the State to the charge of teaching sectarianism. You are seeking to develop the moral nature, it is true, and to qualify the child to become a moral agent, to whom is to be committed the most sacred trusts and solemn responsibilities; but you must beware lest you appeal to his conscience, though no faculty in the young is weaker, more imperfect, and more susceptible, and none stands in such transcendent need of development as that, and none is so vitally related to his whole future and fitness for citizenship. Or, if the conscience

is ever the subject of appeal, it must not be by employing those truths and influences which the history of the world has proved to be most effective in developing the moral sense and ennobling human character.

Such is the shallow philosophy, or, rather, utter ignoring of every principle of philosophy, which an unfounded and unreasoning prejudice calls upon this nation to adopt in its public-school system—to seek a moral end by systematically discarding the highest and best-established moral means; to seek development of character by persistently and purposely refusing to touch the most potent forces and factors which constitute character.

If an attempt is made to parry the force of this reasoning by pleading that to impart intellectual instruction to a child improves his morals and thereby secures the end proposed, we reply, first, if we grant that this is true in some slight degree, still it is a most indirect and imperfect method of compassing the end sought, and at best it would be far more effective if coupled with direct moral training; for the two processes of culture are not antagonistic when rightly joined, but mutually dependent and helpful, the one complementing the other. But, secondly, it is not so apparent that simple intelligence without corresponding moral training is an effectual preventive of crime, or that, in itself alone, it tends largely to moral elevation. It is coming to be more and more a question with thoughtful men whether we have not claimed quite too much for intelligence as a preserving and elevating force in society. If statistics have seemed to authorize our general belief in this respect, it is because that hitherto intelligence among us has been almost invariably connected with no inconsiderable moral and religious training, while criminal classes, so-called, were almost wholly deprived of both intelligence and moral influence. But other facts are pressing on us now, and facts which are not at all flattering to our boasted intelligence, nor favorable to reliance upon it for national safety. Though general intelligence is supposed to be largely increasing, yet crime seems not to diminish, and nearly all our prisons are full. Besides, it is ascertained that only *twenty per cent.* of State-prison convicts are illiterate.

It is not, then, surprising that there should be some honest questioning as to the more exact relation between the spelling

book and the State-prison. It is true, as we hear so frequently from our modern philosophers, that the "cure for unbalanced lives is training"—that a bad environment makes bad men. It is also true that the only solution of the problem of much of our evil, South and North, is the school-house. But it is the school-house built upon the foundation principles of morals and theistic religion; it is the school-house where God is recognized and the Bible revered, and where the teachings of the world's noblest and best men are permitted to exercise their unrestrained influence.

We shall find wisdom in the practical maxim of the Prussians, that "whatever we would have in the State we must first introduce into the school-room." We want self-government, respect for authority, a profound sense of moral responsibility, developed consciences, reverence for sacred things, the fear of God, truthfulness, honor, unswerving integrity, a moral manliness that cannot be bribed nor intimidated. How shall we secure these indispensable requisites of a safe and prosperous nation without the highest moral training in the school-room? The more thoughtfully we examine the question the more thoroughly shall we be convinced that to dissociate the ethical and the intellectual, the Bible and the grammar, is an unwise, unphilosophical, and unsafe procedure. We shall accept the words of Hon. D. D. Barnard, of New York, uttered some years since before the Legislature of that State. "Keeping all the while in view," says he, "the object of popular education, the fitting of the people by morals as well as by intellectual discipline for self-government, no one can doubt that any system of instruction that overlooks the training and informing of the moral faculties must be wretchedly and fatally defective. Crime and intellectual cultivation merely, so far from being dissociated in history and statistics, are, unhappily, old acquaintances and tried friends. To neglect the moral powers in education is to educate not quite half the man. To cultivate the intellect only is to unhinge the mind and destroy the essential balance of the mental powers; it is to light up a recess only the better to see how dark it is. And if this is all that is done in popular education, then nothing, literally nothing, is done toward establishing popular virtue and forming a moral people."



II. But many who admit the importance of moral training, and even its necessity in order to the welfare of the nation, will argue that this is not the work of the State, that the "government is exclusively secular, as much so as a bank corporation or a railway company," \* and it must, therefore, depend upon the family, the Church, and the Sunday-school to train its future citizens in morals and religion. This reasoning has a surface plausibility, but contains a poorly disguised fallacy which is fatal to the nation. It makes assumptions which are wholly unwarrantable and contrary to facts.

The claim that the nation is exclusively secular, is not true in the sense that it has no individuality of character, no moral sense, no ethical principles, no religious belief, no moral responsibility. All these it has, and must have, or miserably perish of imbecility and inward rottenness. There is no proper analogy between the government and a "bank corporation" or a "railway company." The grounds upon which the existence of each rests and the objects legitimately sought by each are as widely separated as the poles. The latter are carried on by private enterprise for individual ends, personal gain being a legitimate object in view; the former is the central source of power under whose authority all corporations exist, and the chief object of which is to promote the *well-being* of its subjects. To compare things as unlike as these is to confound reason and destroy all rational distinctions.

The theory that the government ought to be or can be entirely secular, that is neutral, in regard to all matters of religion is utterly untenable. Such an attitude on the part of government is absolutely impossible. What kind of a government would that be that had no mind, no opinions, no will, no expression of purpose in respect to the fundamental principles and practices upon which its very safety and perpetuity depends? The advocates of neutrality and absolute secularism cannot fail to see the utter impracticability of their theory, and so they prefer to theorize rather than to follow legitimately the resistless logic of facts, and see to what position their theory must inevitably lead the nation. They can hardly fail to see that its professed *neutrality* can mean nothing else than direct *antagonism* to the real ends for which it exists. Those ends

\* Rev. Dr. Spear, "Princeton Review," March, 1878, p. 377.

are of the highest moral character, and they stand most intimately related to theistic religion, not to say Christianity. We have already seen that government has an acknowledged moral end in educating its youth, and it cannot escape the moral responsibility of legitimately and logically carrying out that end to its completion; it cannot honestly shift this responsibility upon other parties. It taxes the people for a given object, confessedly a moral one, and it cannot in justice to its subjects turn to them and say, "We expect you as individuals to do the work for which we have exacted a tax from you. We call the object a moral one, and it is, but we will attend to the intellectual part of our work and leave the moral to you; we will teach the principles of language and mathematics, you must teach the principles of ethics and worthy living." Such an attitude is unworthy of a great and enlightened State; it is imbecility and cowardice, personified and enthroned.

But is the State warranted in assuming that the moral education of its future citizens will be properly attended to by families or other organizations if neglected by its agents, the public school teachers? Possibly it will in some families, but so also would the same families furnish their children the necessary *mental* culture if *that* were neglected by the State, and would it not be equally wise and proper to rely upon the family or individual for the one as for the other? As a question of facts, is it true that the young people of our country *are* receiving, from any source whatever, the moral training requisite for the safety of the nation and the highest interests of society? Is it not rather true that one of the greatest perils to society lies in the fact that such vast numbers, of our young men especially, are coming upon the stage where life's responsibilities and issues are no longer play, but a solemn tragedy, with so little development of moral manhood, so slight a curb of moral restraint to hold in check the baser nature?

Precisely here is our peril most menacing. And it is folly to suppose that any imagined or actual increase of intelligence is rendering this peril less. Rather let us acknowledge with frankness, though with sorrow, that the danger from this source never was so threatening as now, and seems increasing with each year of our national history. If ever moral instruction were necessary in our nation, much more is it an imperative

necessity now. The dangerous and immoral elements of society seem to be constantly becoming more disproportioned to the better classes. Nor can it be truthfully affirmed that this arises wholly from the influx of foreign population. Our own native-born youth, as a rule, lack the moral fiber, the sturdy strength, the genuine manliness and lofty integrity, which come from true moral training persistently applied through all the years of early youth and opening manhood. The State, in relying upon the family for this training, makes too large a presumption upon the general morality and fidelity of parents. Dr. Peabody, of Harvard College, in contrasting the past with the present in respect to parental training, much to the discredit of the latter, says: "A very large proportion of the pupils in our cities and populous towns come from houses utterly destitute of culture, and of the means and the spirit of culture, where a book is never seen, and reading is with the adult members a lost art, or one never acquired. There are schools in which four-fifths or more of the pupils are of this class." He might have painted the moral aspect of the home picture in still darker colors. Nor is it in the lowest classes of society alone that the moral teaching of the family is wholly inadequate to the child's need. Herbert Spencer, speaking of the subject in its general aspects, says: "The management of children, and more especially the moral management, is lamentably bad. Parents either never think of the matter at all, or else their conclusions are crude and inconsistent."

And yet the State is to intrust the moral training of its future citizens wholly to such agents as these. But is it not the *duty* of parents to attend to the moral and religious instruction of their children? Certainly; and so it would be their duty to provide them intellectual culture if the State made no provision for it. So it is the duty of all to obey the laws without police force or courts of justice or prisons; but the State does not in these matters *presume* on every one's doing his duty, and so it makes provision for him in case of his failure in this respect. Why does it not take into consideration undeniable *facts* respecting the inadequate moral training of its youth, and make preventive as well as punitive provision for the welfare of society? The fact is, there is too much shifting of responsibility in this entire matter of the moral and religious instruction

of the young. The State commits it to the family, the family relies upon the Church, the Church intrusts it to the Sunday-school, and between these several agencies, with their indifference or inefficiency, the one transcendent work of the republic, the proper education of its youth, is most negligently and imperfectly achieved.

There is something inspiring in Sparta's training of her youth for the one object she wanted to compass, that of making hardy soldiers. For this purpose the boy was taken at seven years of age, and kept in the hands of the State until he was sixty. He was fed on black broth at the public tables, toughened by exposure, inured to hunger, thirst, fatigue, scourging, too loyal and too brave ever to utter a word of complaint. Not an example by any means of a perfect education, but worthy, nevertheless, of careful study. Cannot an enlightened Christian State, far on in the wiser ages, exhibit at least equal wisdom and zeal in the education of her more favored youth for the higher ends she seeks to compass, and the nobler arena of life into which they are to pass?

It ought to be added, also, that the theory of providing exclusively secular education by the State exerts a most unfavorable influence upon our youth, tending to demoralize and atheize them. This attitude of the State cannot fail to be interpreted by young and susceptible minds as one of indifference to morality and religion. With the State assuming such an attitude, and the natural disrelish of the young for moral instruction and restraint, the parent and the religious teacher, however willing and capable they may be, find it almost impossible to impress these higher truths on the mind that is indurated rather than made more susceptible by its purely intellectual culture. Five or six days of the week devoted exclusively to secular instruction, with rarely or never an appeal to the higher nature of a child, is a poor preparation for that higher instruction, be it from mother or minister. The receptivity of his moral nature is gradually lessened by the overshadowing pre-eminence given to mental culture, and his indifference to all moral and religious truth constantly increases by a kind of logical sequence under this fearfully one-sided and irrational method of training. If the Bible is not honored in the school-room, it will not be likely to receive much attention in the pupil's chamber; if God is not

recognized as authority there, he will not be often in the pupil's thought elsewhere; if moral and religious truths find no place in the daily instruction from the teacher, the parent and Sunday-school teacher will have a hard and ungracious task to find any place to crowd these truths into the pre-occupied mind in the occasional half-hour reluctantly yielded to them for such a purpose. And so it happens, by the practical working of laws which are as inexorable as destiny, that the moral nature of multitudes of young people is an uncultivated waste; and the State, pursuing such a policy, will annually pour out upon society multiplied thousands of youth as unqualified for the duties of life and as dangerous to all the best interests of the nation as if they had never received any training at the public expense.

This theory of pure secularism in education is *revolutionary*. Whatever merits it may claim, it is in direct antagonism to the history, the spirit, and genius of our common-school system. It is an unquestioned historical fact, well-known by all intelligent persons, that the common school owes its origin to the intense religious spirit of its founders. It is the child of Christianity, and the Bible is its fountain head: If we refer to that famous original order of the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1647, by which every township of fifty householders was required to establish a school, we find its inspiration in the emphatic recognition of God and the Bible. Thus originated and thus has been developed a system of education, permeated and inspired with the highest moral and religious ideas—a system which has given us, as a nation, a history of unparalleled growth and prosperity; a system which has achieved for us greatness and honor unprecedented; a system which, in its essential features, is the admiration of the civilized world. Is it, then, the part of wisdom and statesmanship to strike away the very foundations of this vaunted institution, and smite it with paralyzing force by one fell revolutionary blow from the destructive hand of atheistic secularism? If we consent to such a revolutionizing departure from the honored past, let us do it with open eyes and clear understanding of the logical consequences. Let us consider what this secularization of the government, and of the public schools especially, means, and what will be the inevitable results. It is not a question of teaching sectarian tenets, nor of reading a



few verses from any version of the sacred Scriptures, nor of opening the school with a brief religious exercise of whatever form; all these questions are of minor importance, as compared with the great question at issue. That question is this, *Shall the State become unqualifiedly atheistic?* Shall it assume an attitude of absolute indifference to religion and that whole domain of fundamental truths and historic facts, based upon religion? Shall it entirely ignore God, the Bible, Christianity, the Sabbath, with all the moral teachings that have their roots in these fundamental ideas? Shall it forbid its teachers to give instruction in any of these truths and the duties arising therefrom? Shall it, at this late day, assume an attitude of antagonism to the very principles which have hitherto permeated every department of our government, and have given it stability, greatness, and power? And shall all this be done at the clamorous bidding of a few restless spirits, who are dissatisfied with the noble structure which our fathers reared with sacrifices of toil and tears and blood, and who seek to smite the proud edifice with destructive hand?

All this the State must do if it honestly concede the demand for complete secularization. It must expurgate every text-book in use, it must eliminate every extract from the Bible, every allusion to God as the beneficent Creator, to Christ as the world's Redeemer, to the Sabbath as God's appointed day of rest for man, to Christianity as the purest type of religion. There must be no allusion to the great First Cause, none to the evidence of design in the human system nor in the universe; no reference to a Divine Providence whose bounty makes the earth to smile, no word of instruction respecting man's responsibility to his Maker, the true foundation of moral obligation, the fundamental distinction between right and wrong. All this savors, it is said, of religious prejudice, and is offensive to some of the State's subjects; therefore the State must take care that it has no place in its public schools. This and nothing less is the issue; this and nothing else is the legitimate result. It is useless to say that the Bible can be introduced "as literature to be studied, as Homer and Virgil and Shakspeare."

The plea for secularism on the part of the State is either a quibble or it is an honest objection to theism and Christianity

having any recognized place in our national government. If it be the former, it is unworthy of a moment's thought; if it be the latter, then it demands all that we have specified, and more. It demands that the nation shall banish the recognition of God and the Christian religion from every governmental department in the whole national domain. It demands that the Bible shall have no recognized authority in the nation's laws nor in their administration; that no prayer shall ever be offered in legislative assemblies, that no oath shall be administered to bind the conscience of a witness in a court of justice, that the name of God shall never be invoked at the inauguration of the nation's high officials, that no chaplain shall be employed, and no minister of the gospel be permitted to offer prayer in the various governmental institutions of the land. In a word, it demands that the nation shall be *atheistic*, purely, confessedly, emphatically, persistently atheistic, refusing any and all recognition of God and religion throughout all its departments.

With the issue thus before us, carried out to its logical consequences, little more need be said to convince thoughtful persons of the utter fatuity and fatality of such a course. It would smite with complete destruction our whole common-school system. To use the language of the University Report of the School Board of New Haven, Conn.: "If there is to be any thing like education in our schools, if any thing is to be taught other than the use of the alphabet and the processes of arithmetic, with, perhaps, the higher branches of mathematical science, the teacher, and the text-book, if there be one, must recognize religion as an element of human nature; as a fact and a dominant factor in all history; as implied in laws, governments, and the being of society; as an influence pervading the literature of all languages in all ages; and as modifying to-day the thinking, the morals, the usages, the institutions, and the national character of every people under heaven. Such recognition of religion is not religious teaching in any sense in which any man, be he Christian, Mohammedan, Pagan, or Atheist, can reasonably complain of. A prayer at the opening of a legislature, or at the opening of a judicial court, is not an intermeddling of the State with the rights or duties of any Church, nor is it an attempt by the State to teach religion." "If the simple recognition of religion in the public schools is objectionable,

much more would the systematic and thorough *ignoring* of religion be objectionable."

The State, then, is to prepare its youth for future citizenship.

It is to teach that which underlies all true and worthy character—the virtues, the moralities, the duties, and responsibilities of life in all its varied relations. It is not to assume control over the individual conscience, nor dictate religious belief, nor *enforce* the performance of religious duties, nor assume to teach technical religion, much less sectarianism. But it is to *recognize* religion as the foundation of all highest morality, the basis of all sense of responsibility, and the inspiration of all that is noblest and best and most salutary in human society. It is freely to employ these great fundamental truths and all potent factors in developing the character of its future citizens and solving the problem of its future safety and perpetuity. In doing this it violates no right of any of its subjects and does no injury to any one.

To adopt the opposite course we have indicated is positively to injure the many in deference to the unreasonable prejudices of the few. Who asks it? Not the great body of American citizens, who are loyal to the government and ardent supporters of its public schools. Not the teachers, whose vocation would be degraded and whose success would be rendered impossible by such a policy. Not the Catholic, with any honesty, for he is a staunch believer in Christian education, and the whole theory of a secular and godless culture is to him an offense tenfold greater than the introduction of a few verses from the Protestant version of the Scriptures. Not even the Jew, for he believes in God, and the great principles of religion, and wants his children trained therein. If any of these parties object to features of our common schools, it is because they are virtually opposed to the entire system. Who, then, does make this revolutionary demand? A few infidels who affect to have no belief in God, and who really have little or no sympathy with our whole system of government. And in deference to the clamor which these men have raised, some men who are good and true have been led to espouse their cause and become champions of absolute sectarianism in the State.

For the State to heed this demand and adopt this policy would be unjust to the pupils of our schools, who are thereby

robbed of the only preparation which will qualify them for a true life; unjust to parents, who intrust their children to the State with the expectation that they will receive the best and most needed training; unjust to citizens, who are beguiled into a false belief that the national safety is being secured through a system which proves to be inadequate and delusive; unjust to tax-payers, whose money is exacted for a purpose that is not accomplished and cannot be accomplished by such a method; unjust to teachers, who, in worse condition than the Hebrew slaves under their Egyptian taskmasters, are expected to build up the national edifice strong and stately, and enduring without employing the material and methods which are absolutely necessary to its strength and beauty and permanence. It is to attempt a feat which has never been achieved in the history of the world, and stands without historical precedent. Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, all nations in all ages, have recognized the Supreme Power of their imperfect creeds in their national instruction and in their whole national life. It remains for this favored Republic of the United States, standing on the summit of privilege, with its pure faith and its flaming light, with its knowledge of the true God and its marvelous experience of his saving help, to ignore that God who has lifted the nation to its high pre-eminence, and to flaunt its banner before the world, on which is blazoned in letters of burning shame, the atheistic motto, "No God, no RELIGION." Let the theory of secularism which we have combated be adopted, and the nation is doomed. Our boasted Public-School System will be smitten with paralysis and perish, as it ought when thus shorn of its strength; the noble institutions, which are the nation's support and pride, will totter to their fall, and the nation itself will be numbered among the buried nationalities of the past.

May a merciful Providence save us from such a fate! Let us be grateful that he has given us so distinguished and successful a history in the past; let us be thankful also that our common schools, permeated, as they have been so largely with the spirit of morality and religion, have contributed so much to make that history illustrious; and let us cherish the faith that he will deliver us from the evils which now menace our nation by giving us wisdom for our guidance, virtue for our support, and an unswerving fidelity to the sacred charge committed to our trust.

## ART. VI.—THE ITINERANT MINISTRY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

IN an article on this subject which appeared in the Methodist Quarterly Review for January last, the writer presented, in epitome, the history of the origin and growth of the Itinerant system, and of its various modifications down to the present time. He also set forth the peculiar advantages of the Itineracy, and then endeavored to weigh accurately the evils incident to the system, at the same time ascertaining "the value of any compensations which may exist." Proceeding further in the examination of the question in its relations to the present time, he came to the proposal to remove the limitation, which was reviewed at length. His final conclusions were then affirmed in the following words:

When the proposition was first presented to the mind of the writer several years ago, in connection with the embarrassments of a few Churches, it seemed quite plausible. But after pursuing that course which alone can lead to a safe conclusion, namely, to reread the history of the denomination and submit the theory to unprejudiced analysis, he has been led irresistibly to the conviction that the proposition is impracticable, and that its adoption would prove fatal to the Denomination as an organic unity in harmonious action.

At the close attention was called to a "possible amendment" based on propositions under examination in Australia.

Having carefully followed the subsequent discussions of the subject in the periodicals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of other Denominations, the writer resumes the consideration of those portions of his former article to which exceptions have been taken.

No one has yet come forward to attack the Itineracy; neither minister nor layman has recommended a dissolution of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the substitution of Congregationalism or Independency; nor does any one among us maintain the superior efficiency of a settled ministry *on the whole*, as it exists in any other body of Christians. Recent history proves, that if any Methodist ministers of greater, or even of less, ability than the average, were "mindful of that country" "they might have had opportunity" to



remove thither. But many have perceived by reflection, or have determined, as the writer and many of his brethren in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church have had occasion to do, when approached with reference to a settlement, that where a majority of one can dislodge, and an active and watchful minority soon become a majority, "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." Especially is this true, unless there be a fundamental change of religious belief, as the glorious doctrines of free grace, equally removed from the spurious encouragements of Universalism and the frigid inflexibility of Calvinism, could be preached only by sufferance, or with "secret evasion," or "mental reservation."

Not only does no one among us attack the Itineracy, but none profess greater love for it than those who are advocating the removal of all limitation of time from the action of the "appointing power."

In this state of the case, it is necessary to take note of the fact that the Itineracy could not *maintain itself*. Left to the action of individual ministers and local Churches, it would at once cease. If our connectional principles and machinery were removed, all would fall apart, like beads when the string is broken, or a cluster of grapes when the branches and twigs are cut off. The larger Churches would become independent, and most of the smaller, languish and die. Therefore, as the system impartially regulated could not maintain itself, the ardent praises of the Itineracy which we hear on every side must, as in all cases of the adaptation of means to ends, include approbation of some kind of machinery to make it effective. Since many observations in the leading papers of other Denominations, and in the secular press, show that their editors and correspondents have a vague and imperfect idea of our system of making appointments; and as all proposed amendments are modifications of existing arrangements, we shall at this point delineate the essential features of the present plan.

#### METHOD OF FINAL ADJUSTMENT OF APPOINTMENTS IN THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The power and responsibility of stationing the effective ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church inhere in the Bishops or Superintendents elected by the General Conference; such

power to be exercised in conformity to rules made by the said General Conference, to which the Superintendents are responsible. *Theoretically* any Bishop has jurisdiction over every appointment at all times, the theory being that the Superintendency is one; *practically*, by reason of agreement among the Bishops, whichever of their number they may designate at any semi-annual meeting to preside in an ensuing Annual Conference, has special jurisdiction over the appointments in that Conference for one year—or till the semi-annual meeting of the Bishops, subsequent to the adjournment of the Annual Conference at which he presides. The Bishop obtains information from every source, but in most instances chiefly from the Presiding Elders; being in practice an arbitrator among them when they are not a unit in judgment, but having and exercising, according to his final decision, whenever he may think best, the autocratic authority necessary to give stability to the mechanism.

By the usage of the Denomination, the appointments announced at the Conference are for a year. Unless the Bishop shall revise his judgment, "nothing but immorality, insanity, heresy, voluntary withdrawal, disease, or death," can terminate them prior to the expiration of the Conference year. A part, however, of the work of the Bishops is, or may be, done through agents, called Presiding Elders. Presiding Elders, in the early history of the Denomination, had great power. Transfers, prior to 1794, were generally frequent, and the Bishop was not only "absent," but inaccessible, even by letter, for many months. The power given to the Presiding Elder "to change, receive, and suspend Preachers in his District, during the intervals of the Conferences, and *in the absence* of the Bishop," made him practically a "suffragan Bishop." But, by the Discipline, he is bound to give the Bishop "when absent all necessary information by letter of the state of his District." With the increase of the number of the Bishops, their assigned residences, and the improved modes of travel and postal and telegraphic communication, Bishops are now seldom inaccessible when in the United States, for any great length of time. So that no Presiding Elder, himself an appointee and agent of the Bishop, without giving information to the Bishop and awaiting his answer, and without a cause

which, or the knowledge of which, has come into being since the appointment, would claim the power to nullify the action of the Bishop by changing any or all of the "Preachers on his District." His necessary powers for unforeseen emergencies are guaranteed, but his position is that of an agent of the Bishop, and it is made impossible for him to do any damage by usurping the prerogatives of his superior by two safeguards. He can himself be removed by a single act of episcopal discretion, and his *conduct in his office* is subject, and has been from the beginning, to review at the next session of the Annual Conference to which he belongs.\*

The General Conference of 1840 made this clear by special legislation, whereby a provision which seemed to give the Presiding Elder power to permit a Preacher to leave his work was stricken out.

Appointments made at Conference are therefore annual, subject only to the operation of causes arising subsequent to the appointments, when the Bishop may revise his judgment, or, in case of his being inaccessible, the Presiding Elder may act for him in a critical emergency. But after a second re-appointment the Bishop is powerless, and so also is his agent, even in the employment of Superannuate and Local Preachers.†

It is this machinery which makes the Itineracy effective. The position taken by those who would remove the time limit is, that the appointing power is competent without the aid of a statutory limitation to secure the desired result more efficiently than is possible under any restriction other than its own judgment of the demands of the work.

It is held by the present writer, that "a limitation by law is essential to the successful working and permanency of the Itineracy."

\* "And yet their power is so considerable that it would by no means be sufficient for them to be responsible to the Bishops *only* for their conduct in their office. They are as responsible in this respect, and in every other, to the *yearly* Conference to which they belong, as any other preacher."—*Coke and Asbury's Notes on the Discipline.*

† "Provided, however, that a Presiding Elder shall not change a Preacher in his District from a charge to which he has been appointed by the Bishop, and appoint him to another to which he could not be legally appointed by the Bishop. The law of limitation applies also to Superannuated and Local Preachers who are employed in the pastoral work."—*Discipline*, p. 106.

## RE-EXAMINATION OF THE REASONING OF FORMER ARTICLE.

We now propose a careful survey of the fortifications erected in defense of our position, that a time limit is indispensable to the efficiency and perpetuity of the Itineracy, to determine what breaches if any have been made; and whether, if any are found, they can be repaired, or, if incapable of being strengthened, they are sufficient to undermine or overthrow the structure.

## I. The first position was thus stated :

1. Under a limitation the appointments are made in the discretion of the appointing power until the limit is reached. The will of the Bishop determines when the pastor shall go, whether he shall return once or twice. Loyalty requires him to go or stay. But, according to his appointment, when the constitutional limit is reached the Bishop becomes "weak as other men." It is now the whole Denomination which compels the incumbent to move, and he cannot resist. If the Bishop, the Minister, and the Church, should combine, it would avail nothing. Hence it is impossible for the man to stay, and though he may go with the tears of the people mingling with his own, there is no outcry against the Bishop. But let all limitation be removed, and the exercise of Episcopal discretion is the sole "efficient cause" of the otherwise unnecessary removal of their beloved pastor, and the people are grieved and indignant, while he feels oppressed. And after a pastor should have been settled many years in a place, if the people desired him to remain, it would be impossible to remove him without his consent. It would be useless to talk to either about the good of the Denomination as long as both were satisfied.

This position has received attention from the editor of the "Methodist" whose remarks we quote in full :

Some of the reasons of Dr. B. for a time limit are : 1. After the limit is reached "It is the whole Denomination which compels the incumbent to move, and he cannot resist." We have once before pointed out the fallacy in this statement. We answer now as before, "the whole Denomination" requires a man to go at the end of any year, if the Bishop, speaking for it, tells him to go, "and he cannot resist." Any removal has the whole Denomination behind it, and there is no case of successful resistance known to us. The whole Denomination weighs (at least) just as much when its law empowers a Bishop to do something as when it forbids him to do it. The vast virtue of a negative is chiefly a matter of the controversial imagination.

It would seem that this passage was written under an error as to the meaning of the statement declared to be fallacious.

We must, therefore, endeavor to make it more clear. Up to the statutory limit the decision is contingent on the judgment and will of the Bishop; but when the limit is reached the removal is arbitrarily effected by the force of the statute.

When the Denomination empowers a Bishop to perform an act contingent on his discretion and will, it holds him personally responsible for his action. Ministers and Churches have their opinions of the wisdom or folly of his decisions, of his motives, of his "bias;" and if he could be proved to have an unworthy motive, or to have neglected to inform himself, or to have acted capriciously, or without reason, it would be a sufficient ground for impeachment. But when the law limits the term, the personality of the Bishop sinks out of sight before the impartial decree of the Denomination. Let it be observed that, in the *final decision*, the Bishop has every thing to do with the minister's leaving prior to the expiration of the term of three years, but practically *nothing whatever* to do with his leaving at the end of that time. As when the law fixes the punishment of murder in the first degree to be death, the jury having declared the prisoner guilty, the judge has no alternative, and *therefore* no responsibility for the sentence; so when the third year ends, the law relieves the Bishop of all responsibility, by forbidding another reappointment to the same circuit or station until after the lapse of three years more. Whether this radical difference exists is a question of fact; whether it is recognized is one of perception. The logical reader will decide after due reflection. We should hardly have thought it necessary to refer to it again, were it not that some may have seen the objection who never saw the original proposition. The editor of the "Northern," in an elaborate article, which strikes us as a model of gentlemanly discussion, thus summarizes the argument:

In other words, the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church will submit to inconveniences which come from a statutory regulation, but would not submit, even for the greater good of the Church, to the same inconvenience coming from the exercise of discretion conferred by the statute upon the administrators of the law.

To this we reply: "Discretion," given by the statute to the administrators, may be judged by the discretion of those af-



fectcd; "the greater good of the Church" becomes a matter of opinion, and there is room for argument, appeal, and resistance to any extent less than rebellion. Now, to destroy the force of our reasoning, Dr. Warren says:

Let us test the validity of this argument by experience. The fact is, that under the operation of the present rule not more than one third—probably not more than one fourth—of the changes or removals of pastors to new charges made every year are required by the limitation. We base this assertion upon facts ascertained from an examination of the Minutes of five eastern Conferences, and two western. Here, then, we find "Episcopal discretion" exercised each year in effecting the removal of at least two thirds of the pastors who receive new appointments. Under these circumstances we venture to affirm, that of those who are moved by Episcopal discretion, there will be found a smaller proportion complaining of the act of the Bishop than can be found among those who are moved by the limitation complaining of the arbitrary exactions of the law.

We quote so much because the style is clear, and because we have no sympathy with the method of discussion which distorts language to gain a point.

The question is, Does the fact that two thirds of the removals are cheerfully submitted to under the exercise of Episcopal discretion prove, or even raise a presumption that a "time limit" is not essential to the "successful working" of the itineracy? We hold that it does not, and for these reasons. Most removals *before* the time limit is reached are of one of the following classes: the Church or the minister wishes a change, or one or both are indifferent to it, or a minister is wanted for some more important work.

The instances in which a minister *strongly* wishes to stay, and the Church as strongly desires him to remain, and the minister is removed before the time limit is reached without some most imperative reason growing out of the demand for his peculiar gifts, are "few and far between;" and when they occur, they are most bitterly complained of by pastor and people, and are astonishing to all. They are submitted to because there is no help, and because both minister and Church know that the pastor could not stay more than one year, or, at the most, two years longer.

Now, no one, so far as we have learned, ever imagined a time

limit to be necessary to preserve the Itineracy in cases where the minister wished to go, or the people earnestly desired a change, or both were indifferent on the subject, or where the reason for the removal is so obvious that neither minister nor people could complain. How, then, it could be fancied that submission to "Episcopal discretion" in instances where there is substantial agreement or indifference, would show that if there *were no limit*, and both minister and people felt in their "inmost souls" that the separation was wholly unnecessary and would ruthlessly sunder ties that years of intimacy had formed, there would be equal submission—is a problem as difficult of solution as any presented by the subject itself.

The same writer adds another passage which, if we understand it, is not confirmed by the history either of Churches or Nations:

If it shall be claimed that the one third who are moved by the limitation include most of the more able and experienced ministers, we reply: The greater measure of loyalty ought also to be with them, and it would hardly be admitted by them that they would not submit to the exercise of Episcopal discretion as cheerfully as their younger and weaker brethren.

On the subject of "loyalty," we shall speak in another part of the discussion; but observe here, that the men who are more likely to revolt are those who, by reason of conscious strength, influence, and position, have grounds for expecting success. The young, except in a few instances of rashness, and the weak, know that there is no help for them; but the able and experienced, accustomed to rule, are strongly tempted, when they feel the yoke of higher authority, to resist. Most of the serious difficulties in the exercise of Episcopal discretion have come from influential Churches and able or popular ministers, though by no means always co-related. The men who in Europe and America have left original Methodism and formed other sects, have not, as a rule, been "young and weak," but "able and experienced." James O'Kelly, Nicholas Snethen, Alexander M'Caine, Asa Shinn, the leaders of the South on the one hand, and Orange Scott and his colleagues on the other, were not "young or weak." We may conclude, therefore, that the distinction between the "exercise of Episcopal discretion and a statutory regulation," relieving

the Bishop from all responsibility, is a valid one, and that the latter is essential to the permanency of the Itineracy.

II. Subordinate to this position, we said :

But great changes would surely be introduced in Methodist usages, doctrine, and discipline. One minister, believing in the annihilation of the wicked, another preaching hope for all, a third winking at dancing, card-playing, theater-going, a fourth indifferent to class-meetings, these could all, and easily, stamp their peculiarities on their congregations, and great dissimilarities in usages, doctrine, and discipline would soon appear. If the germs of these things are planted "in the green tree, what would they do in the dry?" Then, when these evils should have become obvious, and it would seem necessary to remove the man to save the Church, the cry of persecution would be raised, those whom he had infected would gather around him, and he would remain or divide the Church. This result would be the more sure because, under a ministry likely to be permanent, those who sympathize with a peculiar style gather around its embodiment, and those who dislike it (unless they remain as a turbulent element) depart.

This passage has had the fortune to be extensively quoted. It appears in full in an article in the "Independent" of February 12, the second in a series now appearing from Methodist writers on various phases of this subject. The author of the article says, referring to the above passage :

This is a mild and harmless joke that nobody will mistake for an argument, as it is generally known that Methodism has a more prompt and vigorous way of dealing with heresy and misdemeanors than cutting their tap-roots and translating them every three years.

To mistake reasoning for joking, and joking for reasoning, are usually closely connected, though of little assistance in the solution of a difficult problem. Dr. Warren addresses himself to the examination of the passage with energy and candor. He says :

These evils would be prevented by other features of Methodist polity and practice. . . . If it may be presumed that any considerable number of Methodist preachers, yielding to the small temptation which the possibility of a long pastorate might present, would, if left to themselves, forget the vows and obligations of their office, fall from the grace of Methodist loyalty, and then develop all the perverseness and depravity above indicated, it should still be remembered that judgment awaits them. They are responsible. This fact would tend to reduce the number. With

the Discipline marking distinctly the course of ministerial duty, with the Bishops having general supervision of the Church, with Presiding Elders having more immediate and personal supervision of Districts, with Annual Conferences jealous of the honor of the Church, and intolerant of heterodoxy or disloyalty, and with a body of critical laymen ready to judge ministers by the standards of Methodist law and usage, it is probable that the number of these erratics would remain quite small, and that their following would not be very great. There is little danger that Dr. Buckley's "green tree" would ever become a "dry" one.

But in summing up all that was suggested as possible of different men, and predicating it of one, in the phrase "develop all the depravity and perverseness above indicated," attention is diverted from the main point. We said: "*One* minister believing in the annihilation of the wicked, *another* preaching hope for all, a *third* winking at card-playing, dancing, and theater-going, a *fourth* indifferent to class-meetings . . . might easily stamp their peculiarities," etc. "If the germs of these things are planted in the 'green tree,' what would they do in the dry?" The grounds of that conclusion must now be submitted. The effect of the permanent identification of ministers with the same Church or society is not a matter of conjecture. Around us are Churches in which permanency of the pastoral relation is possible, and desired by the ministry and by the people so long as they are satisfied.

Though the results are often so beneficent that, as the Methodist minister who must "move in three years" looks upon the venerable pastor or *pastor emeritus*, a feeling of despondency sometimes arises in his breast, we cannot be blind to the fact that great differences in the spirit, doctrinal teachings and practices of the people arise. Consider, as examples in the Protestant Episcopal Church, the influence respectively of Drs. F. C. Ewer and Stephen H. Tyng, Jun.; the Church of the former hardly distinguishable from Roman Catholicism, that of the Rev. Mr. Tyng, in its spirit and teaching distinguishable from a Methodist Church chiefly by the use of the prayer-book and the gown. In the Presbyterian Church how unlike in spirit and modes are the societies of Drs. Talmage and Cuyler. In the Congregational Churches there are ministers preaching a species of Universalism, and others the Calvinism of Jonathan Edwards; some as strict in their teaching con-

cerning amusements as the early Puritans or Methodists, others inculcating views the very opposite. It is reasonable to infer that, with permanency made possible among us, similar changes would arise, unless natural tendencies were counteracted by some *adequate force*. Under the operation of the time limit as it now exists, no minister has the opportunity to infect, to any great extent, an orthodox congregation. If, on his arrival, he were to preach contrary to the "standards" of Methodism, he would arouse opposition, and would soon be removed if not suspended. A preacher of false doctrine, without friends and an established position, is seldom dangerous. If he insidiously undermine, his time is up before he has done great damage. The figure of "cutting the tap-root," quoted above, implies forgetfulness of botany. The botanical definition of "tap-root" is this: "The root of a plant which penetrates the earth directly downward to a considerable distance without dividing." The tap-roots in a Methodist congregation, educated under a long line of preachers "speaking the same words and minding the same things," are too sound and healthy to be killed in a year or two.

That some of our ministers have been indifferent to class-meetings, and allowed them to become almost or quite extinct, and that there are some pastors in rich and fashionable congregations and in wealthy farming communities who do not mention class-meetings in the pulpit from the beginning to the end of the year, could be proved if denied. Furthermore, that dancing and theater-going are continually making inroads; that the waves of fashionable dissipation, augmented by the laxity of other Denominations in all great centers, are beating continually against us; that some ministers have been silent, or even "winked" at these things, so as to make it difficult for their successors to be faithful to Methodism, and at the same time to be popular with the young people, or even approved by their parents, is known to all who have the opportunity to know it. And wherever these things have made inroads, whether in the East or the West, in the beginning it was the indifference, the blindness, the weakness, or the cowardice of some minister or ministers that allowed it. To pluck up one weed, and that a little one, is easy; to search for one at the roots of every flower or plant in the garden, troublesome if not



dangerous. But often these careless husbandmen are followed by those who prefer fidelity to ease, and the evil work is partly or wholly undone.

When Dr. Warren says that "there is little danger that Dr. Buckley's green tree will ever become a dry," we must be allowed to remind him that under the operation of natural causes the only thing necessary to turn a "green tree" into a "dry" is *time*.

But what are the forces, said to have been overlooked, which are to prevent these results? The action of Bishops, and trials for heresy. But when time has made the incumbent strong, so that "to remove him will rend the Church," "there's the rub." Again, a Society may be honeycombed with fashionable dissipation, and no Bishop know it. Ah! but the Presiding Elder will, and he will give the Bishop that "necessary information." Nay, the Presiding Elder cannot enter very far into the *social* life of a congregation, even where his family attends, much less elsewhere. As for trials for heresy, they are so difficult to manage, create so much bitterness, and afford such opportunities for hair-splitting, that, except in the most outspoken cases, nothing could be done. A distinguished and able man, tried for heresy in the Methodist Episcopal Church, with a strong society to which he had preached for eight or ten years in sympathy with him, would become a martyr, and his society would vow to stand by him to the end.

The other evils, decline of class-meetings, increase of worldly amusements, etc., could come on from simple neglect. If the original passage be carefully studied and judged, in view of what occurs in Churches where permanency is possible and desired, in the light of the tendencies of modern times, especially if the influence of the secular press on ecclesiastical trials be duly considered, it will appear that there are no adequate forces to prevent the "green tree" from becoming a "dry" if all time limits should be abolished.

III. Our next position, concerning the complication of the work of the Bishop, has received comparatively little attention, except that of flat denial. We see no reason to do otherwise than to reaffirm that position, adding only important admissions from authoritative sources. The "Methodist," in an editorial of January 17, says: "If we believed in the helplessness of the

Episcopacy, as our critic seems to do, we should not favor the change in question. We believe as strongly as he in a limit and a limiting power; but we believe that it exists in the Episcopal authority." The Rev. C. N. Sims, D.D., states an objection to the removal of the limit as follows: "It would so interfere with the authority of the Bishops that they could not exercise it according to their best judgment." He then says:

If this be true it is an unanswerable argument against the proposed change. But we deny it wholly. Ample constitutional power remains with the Bishop, and the contempt of the whole Church would justly rest upon any man in that high position who had not the courage and conscience to use it faithfully.

"Ample constitutional power" is a "good phrase," but the *practicability* of its exercise is the question at issue.

IV. To break the force of our objections to the removal of the limitation, the editor of the "Northern" relies on "loyalty." He says:

What, then, is the ground for the declaration that the removal of the limitation—a change in itself desirable and requiring nothing but loyalty to render it perfectly safe and highly advantageous—would cost us the Itineracy? Has it come to pass that they who are faithful in much can be trusted with nothing? That ministers and Churches that have respectively surrendered much for a common good cannot safely be permitted any freedom which could in the least increase the temptation to insubordination and independence? It is true there *might* occur instances if the limitation were abolished, etc., but after reading Dr. Buckley's truthful explanation of the phenomenon of Methodist loyalty, we cannot but think that the number of such instances will be, as he says with reference to cases of insubordination at the present time, "so very small as scarcely to be a factor in the estimate of the working of the system."

But what is this "loyalty" of which he speaks? It is loyalty to the Methodist Episcopal Denomination or Church; for a minister is never permitted to feel that he is identified permanently with any particular society. Now, suppose that he were settled over a society for ten or twenty years, that it had been planted by him, or grown up under his labors, that though he went to the Conference every year, and received his re-appointment, neither he nor the people expected him to be removed so long as he succeeded; suppose, further, that a Bishop should propose to arbitrarily remove him, or that he

and his people should think it arbitrary; or that a small minority should become dissatisfied without cause, and should stir up other ministers to say "he has been there long enough," what then? Suppose that his friends should say, "We have stood by you, and you must stand by us," and his wife, with her social relations, and his children in the schools, were to chime in, what would be the result?

There has been but one kind of "loyalty" thus far—loyalty to the Methodist Episcopal Church; every Methodist minister "to the manner born," and all who have selected the Denomination on reflection, have been educated to such loyalty to the whole Church. This in ministry and laity is the centripetal tendency which holds the body together. But a sentiment of loyalty to the local Church, which the abrogation of a time limit would make possible and stimulate, is antagonistic to the other, and to rely on the loyalty now existing to protect the Denomination from the evils arising from another kind of loyalty is not reasonable.

Surely the American people need no lessons on the baleful effects of a conflict of loyalty. General Robert E. Lee originally had no heart in secession. He was loyal to the Union, and would have fought for it. Why, then, did he reluctantly go with the South? Because his education and associations had developed a sentiment of loyalty to the State in distinction from that to the Federal Republic, until the former surpassed the latter.

V. We affirmed that "the history of the introduction of the 'time limit' confirms all that has been set forth." And in supporting that position, we charged the "Brooklyn Society for the Promotion of a more Effective Working of the Itineracy" with putting forth "an amazing, though no doubt unintentional, misrepresentation." The editor of the "Methodist" avows himself the author of the paragraph, the accuracy of which we impeached, and made answer in his paper of January 17:

The paragraph attacked as "an amazing misrepresentation" is this:

"Up to 1804 the pastorates were all short—shorter than now; but they were made so by a judgment annually exercised by those who made them. We are quite willing that the pastorates

should be short, provided that they be made short by the judgment which annually fixes them. In 1804 the pastoral limit was fixed at two years of continuous service, and this limit was in the law for sixty years. Since 1864 the limit has been set at three years. I ask you to notice that the men who fixed upon two years in 1804 were large-minded, and set the mark up to the highest demand of any Church under their care. Two-years' pastorates, in 1804, met the extremest city want. If a General Conference were now to imitate the men of 1804, it could not fix the limit short of ten years. John-street, in 1804, was provided with a pastoral term up to its largest ambition; no one, remembering all the changes that have occurred, would think of a less term than ten years, if he wished to meet the largest ambition of St. Paul's in 1880."—P. 18.

The leading statement here is that, up to 1804, the pastorates were made short by a judgment annually exercised; a subordinate statement is, that the two-years' limit met the extremest city want. Dr. Buckley does not deny either statement, but he attacks the details of the latter one with considerable vigor, as follows:

"Nearly every statement in that passage is incorrect. 'Up to 1804 the pastorates were all short—shorter than now.' This is not correct. 'Two-years' pastorates, in 1804, met the extremest city want.' This is an error. 'John-street, in 1804, was provided with a pastoral term up to its largest ambition.' This is wholly wrong. Joining issues so positively on these statements, it behooves the writer to furnish irrefutable proof of the errors charged, or submit to be convicted of assailing the accuracy of another's affirmations without due care and candor. The facts are that, though for some time previous to 1794 the general custom had been for the preachers to change every six months, (albeit this was only required 'when convenient,') between 1794 and 1804 the terms greatly lengthened. Many remained *two* years, and several stayed *three* years, and Francis Asbury *could not* prevent it."

To substantiate this charge of inaccuracy, the following proof was furnished:

1. The Annual Minutes for the years between 1794 and 1804. These show many appointments for two years, and several for three—*John-street* and Baltimore, among others, having had pastors appointed for *three successive* years.

2. Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. iv, p. 178: "They were not allowed to appoint preachers for more than two successive years to the same appointment; hitherto there had been no restriction, and some had been *three* years in one appointment. Asbury rejoiced in the new rule as a *great relief to the appointing power.*"

3. Dr. Stevens is generally thoroughly reliable; but for details

it is well to go to primary sources. Jesse Lee's "History of the Methodists" was published in 1810. He says, pp. 298, 299: "The following rule was also formed, 'The Bishop shall not allow any preacher to remain in the same station or circuit more than two years successively.' In some cases, prior to that rule, the Bishop had appointed a preacher or preachers to the same place for three years together. He now determined on a better plan, and formed this rule to prevent any preacher from wishing or expecting such an appointment in future."

An important typographical error occurred in the extract from Lee's "History." It reads: "We [not he] now determined on a better plan, and formed this rule to prevent any preacher from wishing or expecting such an appointment in future."

Candor requires any one who charges another with serious error to publish his answer in full: we therefore transcribe as follows the defense of the editor of the "Methodist:"

We answer: 1. Our leading statement is confirmed by Dr. Buckley, that the pastorates were made short by a judgment annually exercised. 2. The term "all" is seized upon, and bears the brunt of the criticism, though it is plain that the editor was speaking of the admitted fact (not denied by Dr. B.) that the general run of pastorates was shorter than now. The point is of little consequence to the argument, but, to answer a "smart" controversialist according to his smartness, we may say that if men "stayed" three years in John-street before 1804, they now "stay" four years in the New England Conference—and that is a complete answer to the purely technical objection on which Dr. B. founds the heavy charge of "an amazing misrepresentation." 3. Dr. B. furnishes no proof that any body was dissatisfied with the limit at two years. He proves that this limit had been reached and passed, but does not attempt to prove that any Church asked for a longer term in the rule. Respecting what some Churches might now ask, he is prudently silent.

On the answer but little need be said. The passage controverted declares that the "pastorates were all short, shorter than now," and holds up the men "who fixed upon two years" as "*large-minded*;" and declares that "if a General Conference were now to *imitate* the *men of 1804*, it could not fix the limit short of *ten years*." The spirit of the passage, as well as the letter, is a call to the men of 1880 to be as "*large-minded*" as the men of 1804. In answer, we proved that leading men had been appointed for *three* years, and that the men of 1804



made the rule *solely to keep the limit down to two*. We now leave the reader to form his own judgment as to the issue of fact.

From the above premises "the conclusion is that"—

If the iron hand of Asbury, when the Churches were weak and the discipline strong, could not maintain the Itineracy without a time limitation, it is certain that, considering all the changes that have transpired, if the limitation by law were removed, the Itineracy would at once and forever break down.

On this the editor of the "Northern" remarks:

So positive and sweeping an inference should rest on an unquestionable basis. . . . That Asbury did not want the preachers to *wish* or *expect* to remain more than two years in the same place is, according to Lee's testimony, very evident, but that he recommended the rule because he "*could not*" make the appointments or maintain the Itineracy without it is an inference which the "iron-handed" Asbury would hardly have tolerated. Is it not a pure *non sequitur*?

We did not attempt to republish Asbury's "Journals," nor his letters to Francis Morrell, nor his valedictory to William M'Kendree, in which he bemoans the difficulties in his way of making changes and keeping the terms short, nor the quaint passage in which, under date of July 13, 1793, he says: "I am convinced there ought to be a change generally, presiding elders and others. This I aim at, but there are great difficulties. . . . All my woods and wilderness troubles vanish in a moment when I have to take one single grain of conference *tartar*."

We really supposed that every student of Methodist history knew Asbury's views on this subject, and that he was thoroughly opposed to long terms of service in one circuit or station. The question, however, is, what was made out in the article reviewed. It was clearly shown that Asbury *could not* move the presiding elders without the aid of a time limit; that as late as 1794 he desired the preachers to change every six months, and that in 1804 the General Conference was compelled to make a rule limiting the time to two years, because Asbury had not been able to withstand the pressure, and had appointed some for three years. If it is a *non sequitur* to conclude from such premises that Asbury *could not* maintain the Itineracy against localizing tendencies, a true sequence in historical reasoning will be difficult to find.

Whatever view may be taken of our deductions thus far, we have it in our power to set this branch of the subject forever at rest, by giving, in the very words of the minister who proposed the adoption of the two-years' rule, a full account of all the circumstances which led to its enactment, extending even to the conversation with Bishop Asbury on the subject.

#### HISTORY OF THE ADOPTION OF THE TWO-YEARS' RULE, IN THE WORDS OF ITS MOVER.

The circumstances which led to the adoption of that rule are not fully known at this day. Soon after the commencement of the present century two or three cases occurred that gave the Bishop great annoyance. Some preachers finding themselves in pleasant stations, and by the aid of self-constituted committees—*believing, of course*, that they could do better in the place than any one else—objected to removal, while the more pious part of the society would have preferred a change; but the officious committee prevailed. One of these unhappy cases came under our personal knowledge when in company with the Bishop, which gave the venerable Asbury much anxiety, seeing that to remove the incumbent would rend the society, and to leave him would result in injury to the Church. Finally *they* prevailed, and evil followed. In conversation with the Bishop we suggested the above rule, to which he pleasantly replied, "So, then, you would restrict the appointing power?" "Nay, sir," was the reply; "we would aid its execution, for in the present case it seems to be deficient."

His laconic reply of "So, so," encouraged me at the ensuing General Conference of 1804, to present the resolution, which was signed and seconded by the Rev. Joseph Totten, of the Philadelphia Conference. . . . Of course, it was laid on the table for the present. It was talked over out of doors, and scanned in all its bearings by the fireside, and when called up again, after some discussion, it passed with a very general vote. Nearly forty-seven years of experience has proved its utility, and we believe it has saved the Bishops and the Church no little difficulty. Now, if nearly fifty years ago there were two or three such unhappy cases, might we not reasonably calculate on two or three *score* at the present day? And if Bishop Asbury, with all his fatherly influence and decision, needed the aid of such a rule, how much more do our present Bishops! Indeed, we cannot conceive how an efficient systematic Itineracy can be sustained without some such rule; hence our English brethren have one of like import.

The author of the above passage, and the mover of the two-years' rule, was the venerable Aaron Hunt, of the New York

Conference. The case referred to, concerning which he conversed with Bishop Asbury, was that of the Rev. Cyrus Stebbins. This brother was a man of some influence over the more cultivated classes, and, after being stationed in Brooklyn and New York City, was appointed, in the year 1800, to Albany City, re appointed in 1801, again in 1802, and again in 1803, making in all *four* consecutive years; and this against the convictions of Bishop Asbury, under the pressure of Brother Stebbins and of the "self-constituted committee," representing the society, and the threat that "to remove him would rend the Church."

The Rev. Aaron Hunt published the foregoing statement in the "Christian Advocate and Journal" for March 6, 1851, over the signature of Luther. Papers in the possession of his grandson, the Rev. Dr. A. S. Hunt, show that the case of Cyrus Stebbins is the one referred to.

Who, therefore, will hereafter dispute the proposition that Bishop Asbury *could not* maintain the Itineracy against the wish of certain ministers and Churches without the aid of a *time limit*. And if "the iron hand of Asbury, when the Churches were weak and the discipline strong, could not maintain the Itineracy without a time-limitation," how can it reasonably be supposed possible now?

As for the Rev. Cyrus Stebbins, though he was returned to Brooklyn, he withdrew in 1805 from the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The so-called "reform" that is to be "the panacea for all our woes, real or imaginary," when studied historically and analytically, has little to commend it to the wisdom of the Church. If it were adopted, a certain proportion of ministers might perhaps find some delightful spot in which to grow old, surrounded by friends who cared for them, and would "stand by them." But the triumphant march of Methodism across the Continent and around the world, even if here and there a check temporary or permanent be felt, is a more inspiring spectacle. That many are at first inclined to favor this proposition arises from the fact that they have "unequally viewed" our history and system, and have reasoned from the point of view of the *local society* and the individual minister, rather than from that of the whole Denomination.

Though the term "Triennialism" has been invented, and the declarations "It *will* come" and "There is a general call for it" are often reiterated by a comparatively few, it will be found that this "reform" cannot be incorporated with the existing machinery of the Church.

#### A POSSIBLE AMENDMENT.

That there are some defects in the present system we admit, nor can we be driven to deny it by exaggerated statement of them, or inconclusive reasonings and perilous propositions for their removal. The question is, Can they be remedied or diminished without jeopardizing the whole system?

The Australian plan, so-called, with some modifications, that the Bishops may have power, on the request of three quarters of the Quarterly Conference, sustained by a vote of two thirds of the Annual Conference, to re-appoint a pastor up to the period of six years, we suggested might possess the following advantages:

1. The "Itinerary" is still "limited by law."
2. The extension is so protected that it must be *exceptional*.
3. It would compel influential congregations to show a little more respect to the Annual Conferences than they sometimes do.
4. Such power given to the Annual Conferences would not be an innovation. See *Discipline*, 1876, pp. 102, 103.

But the proposition has been adversely commented upon.

Dr. Daniel Steele, in "Zion's Herald," has said:

But we hope that our preachers will never be required to vote on the term of one another's appointments. It would be like the *outs* of civil office voting on the *ins*. We prefer Bishop Peck's suggested extension of the three-years' term when in any case it is deemed to be necessary by all the Bishops in their semi-annual meeting.

A writer, who conceals his name, says:

1. It would take the appointing power from the Bishop and Cabinet and give it to the Conference; for no Bishop would veto this double sanction.
2. Any minister who can get a majority of the official board can so constitute it as to get a two-thirds vote.
3. No Annual Conference would refuse to approve the request of the Quarterly Conference. So that in point of fact the con-

tinnance of a pastor beyond the three years would be largely in his own hands.

A well-known layman, in private correspondence, says:

I fear the application of the "possible amendment" would place in many Churches a few members of a Quarterly Conference in the same position as the unfortunate jurymen who had to serve with eleven obstinate men.

On these objections a few suggestions may be made. Dr. Steele's objection to the *outs* voting for the *ins* implies distrust of the ability of the ministers to rise above personal interest and prejudice. Yet in any special instance all who were not about to move, and all whose places were determined, could vote without prejudice growing out of personal relation to the appointment in question, and *nearly* all others.

That no Bishop would veto the double sanction, and that no Annual Conference would veto the request of the Quarterly Conference, are propositions not supported by proof. That they would not do so except in *extreme* cases may be taken for granted. But those who desire any extension should not object to that. That a minister who can get a majority can so constitute the official board as to get two thirds or three fourths, and that the minority may be the most judicious members of the Church, must be admitted. But the minority have a double appeal, namely, to the Annual Conference and to the Bishop.

The reference of such cases to the Board of Bishops is objectionable, because in the matter of transfers for particular Churches, etc., the Bishops have as much responsibility as they can bear; because the "Board" could not obtain personal cognizance of the facts; and because between the meeting of said Board and that of the Conference great changes might occur.

In the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada the rule is, that "the Bishop shall not allow any preacher to remain in the same station more than three years successively, *unless by request of the Annual Conference*, except the presiding elders." The usage is as though it read "consent of the Annual Conference," but final discretion is with the chair as to exceeding three years. The rule was made to cover the case of the Rev.



Joseph Wild, D.D., then of Belleville, now of the Elm Place Congregational Church, of Brooklyn, N. Y. There have been but two or three cases exceeding three years, the general view being unfavorable to it.

The Rev. Bishop Carman, in a letter to the writer, says :

Am for keeping to the old landmarks. Think our plan is, perhaps, as good a modification as practicable. Quarterly Conference memorialize Bishop; Bishop comes to Annual Conference; ought to be safe there if any where.

This is substantially the "Australian plan." While we remain of the opinion that a substitution of five or six years in the rule for three is very undesirable, and that the removal of the limitation would be destructive, we are willing to see a plan proposed that will give a little more flexibility in *extreme* cases. If no safe plan can be devised, as the advantages of the Itineracy far outweigh its defects, it would be better to "bear those ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of."

A safe plan must have four elements—the extension must be so restricted as to be *exceptional*; the episcopacy must be shielded from responsibility, and yet allowed the absolute final decision; there must be a time limit at last, and that at no great distance.

But it seems probable from present indications that those who advocate the removal of the limitation will not be admonished by the errors of many other "reformers;" but, refusing to accept any thing less than all they desire, will drive those who will take no risk of the destruction of the Itineracy (which we believe to comprise the great majority of the ministry and laity) to oppose all change. As the "thin edge of the wedge" once introduced often makes possible what could never be attained by the direct application of external force, it is necessary to move with great caution. It is a safe maxim that experiments in mechanism and in legislation are dangerous in proportion to the delicacy and complexity of the original system.

Though this principle should never be allowed to obstruct genuine progress, it requires attention to the teachings of history, and is opposed to flippancy and superficiality in the discussion of great questions. Whether, then, the "Australian" or "Canadian" plan, with some modifications, is a safe experi-

ment, is not to be hastily determined. We have called attention to it as seeming feasible, and entitled to critical examination; but nothing less than a general demand, after much deliberation, and a discussion marked by accuracy and fairness and in harmony with the "zealous and itinerant genius of Methodism," would justify its adoption. At no time in the history of the Church has there been need for greater wisdom in the administration of the system of ministerial transfer and adjustment than at present.

Every thing which the rule, fairly interpreted, admits, may be done to meet emergencies, but it is necessary that all should have reason to feel that the "appointing power" seeks absolute impartiality, and will gratify the wishes of the weakest country society whenever it is possible, and protect the interests of the humblest minister who tries to do his duty, as gladly as it will promote the desires of city Churches and their pastors.

"Transfers" should be made on principles of universal application, and mere capriciousness in Churches, either great or small, discouraged. Anomalies in administration foster discontent. We believe that the Itineracy has but just begun its work. The constant problem of the superintendency is to so guide it as to give the greatest efficiency. The problem before the Church is to determine what modification, if any, can be made that will not block the wheels in one part of the mechanism, or unduly accelerate their motion in another.

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#### ART. VII.—THE WESLEYAN MISSION IN NEW ZEALAND.

To the Episcopal Church belongs the honor of being the first to introduce Christianity into New Zealand. Messrs. Hall, King, and Kendall, under the auspices of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, were the first to visit the islands on this errand; and Mr. Marsden, on Christmas-day, 1814, was the first to proclaim the gospel message, which he did from the appropriate words, "Behold, I bring you glad tidings of great joy." Though residing in Sydney, New South Wales, Mr. Marsden superintended the New Zealand Mission, paying it seven visits for that

purpose—the last in 1837, when he had attained the advanced age of seventy-two. Throughout the whole of his long and useful career as a missionary superintendent he secured and maintained the highest respect of missionaries belonging to other Churches than his own, to which a simple and beautiful testimony was borne in the following “pulpit notice,” read in the Wesleyan Church at Paramatta, Sydney, where he had died, on the Sunday preceding the one on which his funeral sermon was preached: “Next Sunday morning we intend to close this place of worship, and, as a mark of respect to the memory of our late venerable friend, go to the English Church to hear his funeral sermon.”

The first Wesleyan missionary was the Rev. Samuel Leigh, who arrived in Sydney from England on the 10th of August, 1815, where he remained till 1818. In that year he proceeded to New Zealand, staying but nine months, during which period his soul was stirred within him as he witnessed the appalling degradation of the people. Returning again to Sydney, he remained there but a short time, when he proceeded to England with the object of persuading the Wesleyan Missionary Society to open a mission in New Zealand. In this he was successful, and accordingly, he, along with his wife, set sail for the new land, arriving at the Bay of Islands in the month of February, 1822. Acting under the advice of the Episcopal missionaries, who gave every assistance to their Methodist brother, Mr. Leigh, on the 10th of June, 1823, secured a piece of land at Wangaroa for a mission station, in a beautiful valley, to which he gave the name of “Wesley Dale.” Here, within two or three days after claiming this lovely spot for the Redeemer, heathenism made one of its revolting displays on Christ’s own day, when, a war-canoe coming into harbor crowded with slaves, one of them was killed, roasted, and eaten. Mr. Leigh did not remain long in New Zealand, the health of his wife requiring his return to Sydney toward the end of 1823. Yet in this brief period, not long enough to acquire a competent knowledge of the Maori language, he learned what were the perils and annoyances of a life among a haughty and savage people. His constancy was put to a severe test because he would not supply them with arms or gunpowder in exchange for food. Not merely did they temptingly offer as much as a hundred

baskets of potatoes for one musket, but they determinedly refused to receive any thing else as payment. The description of their behavior given by an early missionary represents them as treating the new arrivals with the most provoking contempt :

They are almost past bearing, coming into our houses when they please, demanding food, thieving whatever they can lay hands on, breaking down our garden-fences, stripping the ships' boats of every thing they can. They seem, in fact, ripe for every mischief.

Says the Rev. James Buller :

When at family prayer it was not uncommon for the natives to creep in and steal something. A chief, for instance, would secrete the teapot within his mat. One day the dinner was cooked in the yard; while the table was being laid inside a hawk-eyed fellow got over the fence and walked away with oven, dinner, and all. On washing-days, basket and line, as well as garments, were tempting baits, and had to be narrowly watched.

In 1823, and before Mr. and Mrs. Leigh had left New Zealand, the Rev. Nathaniel Turner and Mrs. Turner, and the Rev. John Hobbs arrived. The mission party now consisted of four missionaries, a missionary's wife, an artisan, and a nurse-girl that Mrs. Turner had brought with her; of whom but one could speak the Maori language. Surrounding them were tribes described as the vilest in the land, of whose degradation Mr. Turner had very soon full proof, when one morning, not very far from his home, he came upon a small tribe preparing to sit down to feast on the body of a slave just cooked. A deputation from the London Missionary Society, consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Tyermann and Bennett, accompanied with a Mr. Thielkeld and son, had about this time a very narrow escape from being cooked and eaten. Putting in to Wangaroa, with the intention of seeing their Wesleyan brethren, the ship in which they were sailing, the "Endeavour," had no sooner been brought to anchor before the Maoris crowded the deck and began their pilfering tricks. In trying to clear the deck a chief was jostled by the captain, and fell into the sea. Thereupon the natives took possession of the ship, and made the officers and crew prisoners, at the same time arming themselves with axes, billets of wood, and whatever else they could lay hold of. Not one of the passengers or crew dare move. While

spears and clubs menaced the captain, Mr. Bennett was made secure by his arms being pinioned, his two friends being, at the same time, secured in another part of the ship. Terrible excitement prevailed, the howlings and yellings of the infuriated savages mingling in frightful discord as they menaced their helpless prisoners, who looked for every moment as their last. The ax had already been uplifted, awaiting but the signal to give the blow, when the attention of the cannibals was providentially diverted from their present murderous purpose by the appearance of a sail, which proved to be a boat having on board some of the Wesleyan missionaries and a native chief, Te Ara, the object of whose visit was to give an invitation to the deputation to visit Wesley Dale. Their timely appearance and interference saved the imperiled lives from destruction; but the invitation was not accepted, for the visitors had received such a fright that they adjudged it wiser to at once take their departure. Accordingly, they lifted the anchor and went out to sea, two of the missionaries remaining on board with them until they were fairly away.

Nor was the mission party itself permitted to remain for long in undisturbed security. Addressing themselves cheerfully to their work, they had acquired the language, prepared several small books, and made visits to distant native villages, when suddenly their hopes of a bright day in store were for the present beclouded. Hongi, a blood-thirsty warrior, made an attack upon the tribes in the locality, and wrought fearful havoc among them. Robbery, fire, and slaughter prevailed, and the mission party with difficulty succeeded in making their escape. Gathering together some of their clothing, which they tied in a few small bundles, the fugitives, including Mrs. Turner and her three small children, hurried away from danger and from death, through forest and fern, for twenty miles, until they arrived at the Church of England mission station at Koriki. It was now too evident that all the tribes were more or less to be involved in horrible warfare; and nothing remained for the party, who had lost their all, except a few articles of clothing, but to secure themselves by wholly departing from the scene of anarchy and blood. Accordingly, they left New Zealand for Sydney on January 31, 1827, where they remained for six months; at the end of which time, learning that a powerful



chief, Patuone, who had saved their lives in their flight, was favorable to their return, the party, with the exception of Mr. and Mrs. Turner, returned, and settled on the river Hokianga, giving to the mission station the name of Mangungu, meaning in Maori, *broken to pieces*, a name appropriately descriptive of the irregular and broken appearance of the surrounding country. Mr. Turner returned to New Zealand in 1836, and remained in superintendence of the mission till 1839. On the death of Hongi, which took place soon after the missionaries' return, blood was again freely shed, and one of the most sanguinary contests that had been known in the country was threatened. A great array of armed natives took place at Waima, ready for fierce encounter. By this time the missionaries had gained some influence over the savage mind, and, at the risk of their own lives, they ventured to mediate between the contestants, rejoicing after many days of delicate and difficult negotiations in being able to secure a mutual declaration of peace. In this victory of the gospel of peace over murderous passion and cannibalistic propensity, the missionaries beheld the first-fruits of a long and toilsome season of sowing in tears. These successful negotiations strengthened their hold upon the Maoris, who soon came to regard them as their friends and counselors. Distant tribes expressed their desire to receive among them the men, no longer strangers, whom they had begun to respect and love; the few books they had printed were eagerly received and mastered with gratifying diligence; while in many places unholy rites and superstitious incantations were abandoned for the pure and simple worship of the almighty God. In striking contrast with the ferocious character of the people from whom, a few years previously, Mr. Turner had to flee for his life, that devoted missionary was gratified by witnessing many instances of generosity and true kindness. One may be mentioned, when the missionaries' house was accidentally burned to the ground, at a time when his wife was confined to bed through illness for ten weeks. The fire occurring at night, the inmates had to escape in their night-dresses as best they could, when one of the native chiefs, throwing a blanket over Mrs. Turner, carried her away gently in his strong arms, and upon depositing her in a distant house, broke out in pathetic strains of sympathy: "O mother, let not your heart be

distressed. Though your house and property are gone, your life, your husband, and your children are spared. I have no garments to give you; but you shall have pork and potatoes, and all such things as we have."

Before Mr. Turner's return, in 1836, the Rev. Messrs. Whitebey, Wallis, and Woon had joined the little band; and in 1839 the Rev. John H. Bumby arrived, as successor in the superintendency to Mr. Turner, who was also accompanied by his sister, and the Rev. Messrs. Warren, Creed, and Ironside, with their wives. To these were added in the following year the Rev. Messrs. Buddle and Turton, with their wives, and Messrs. Buttle, Smales, and Aldred. It should be mentioned that as general superintendent of the Wesleyan missions in Australasia and Polynesia, the Rev. John Waterhouse was sent out by the English Missionary Society in 1839. His head-quarters were at Hobart Town, in Tasmania, whence he made several official visits to New Zealand, and where he died in 1842.

Nor was Mr. Bumby's career a long one; for while yet but thirty-two, in the full promise of usefulness, he met a sorrowful death, the year after his arrival in the colony. One day he was crossing the Waitemata in a canoe with twenty natives, himself seated in the stern with a book in his hand. A gentle breeze springing up, one of them rose to unfurl the sail, which, being heavy, others hastily stood up to assist him, capsizing the boat by so doing. Righting the canoe again, his brave boys succeeded in placing him in it; but some of them incautiously pressing into it, overturned it again. One of the Maoris, Hemi Karana, succeeded in placing his pastor on the upturned boat, where he supported him for half an hour, when a rolling wave passing over them drove them from their position, the missionary sinking beneath it before his faithful friend, who was a capital swimmer, had time to come to his rescue. Fourteen out of the twenty were drowned. Eloquent as a preacher, and of thoughtful habits and studious tastes, the young missionary superintendent was much better adapted for the ministry in England than for the arduous and many-sided work of a missionary pioneer in New Zealand. Special gifts were his, but they had a most unsuitable sphere for their employment among fierce and proud warriors, upon whom the only telling arguments were plunder and blood and cannibalism.

The Supreme Disposer withheld permission even for their ultimate employment in the young country in the years yet to come; for his first and last service to his dusky charge consisted in the giving out of a hymn from the pulpit in the Maori language.

Mr. Bumby's successor as mission superintendent was the Rev. Walter Lawry, who for several years onward from 1818 had been a missionary in the Friendly Isles, and was thus well qualified by previous experience for the work upon which he entered on March 17, 1844. The prospect before him was in the highest degree hopeful. Heathenism had in many parts disappeared before the gently subduing power of the Christian religion, and he found the ordinances and institutions of the Methodist Church in existence among many a Maori tribe, and in some of the few European settlements which had already sprung into existence. Many and frequent were the occasions when the missionaries' hearts were made glad by applications from the stout-hearted warriors of former years for admission to the privileges of Church membership, and on some of these one hundred at a time would be baptized and admitted as catechumens.

Perhaps no better evidence can be supplied of the power of the Christian religion to subdue the savage character and regulate the lawless conduct of a Maori multitude than an account given by an eye-witness, the Rev. James Buller, of a Maori feast held in 1844 at Remnera, a few miles from the present city of Auckland. The Maoris have always been given to feasting, and this feast was no exception to the generality in that it had a political purpose:

The number of visitors was about four thousand. For their refection there awaited eleven thousand baskets of potatoes, a hundred large pigs, nine thousand sharks, and liberal supplies of flour, rice, sugar, and tobacco. A shed, four hundred yards long, was standing about fifty yards from the breastwork of potatoes, which shed was covered with Witney blankets, and one thousand more were ready as gifts. The feast lasted nearly a week. There was a natural fear in the minds of the European settlers in Auckland that the presence of such a muster of Maoris would be fraught with danger. Had they intended mischief, the few soldiers in the barracks sunk into nothing before such a host. But not a single act of disorder transpired. Only one accident happened, and that was to one of themselves. It has been well

asked, "Would the Caledonians, from the age of Constantine to that of the Plantagenets, have shown similar forbearance?" The governor, Captain Fitzroy, with his suite, paid a formal visit to the assembly. The war dance was performed by sixteen hundred. With such a number it was effectively done; but, as a relic of their old barbarism, it is not to be commended. Good taste, not less than sound morals, must condemn the practice. The several tribes were attended by their respective missionary pastors. Clusters of tents covered the ground, with small flags waving in the breeze. The Sunday was well observed, as it generally was in those days. Gathered into their several groups, the people worshiped God and heard his word.

Thousands of people, lately savage, brought together on an occasion usually stimulating to warlike propensities, must have come under the influence of habits far removed from those which had made men the plunderers and murderers they had been so recently, if they could conduct themselves with such admirable decorum. And indeed this was the case. Formerly liars and thieves, Mr. Lawry, describing a seven weeks' journey among them, says:

I was forcibly struck with their truthfulness and honesty. I did not hear of a single departure from truth or honesty in the case of a single individual of our people. I was cheered with the sight of the natives, without exception. Whether they traveled with us or not, all united with us in morning and evening devotion; the hymn was sung, the chapter was read, and prayer was offered. This is now the case in all those places where the influence of the missionary prevails, and there are few which that influence has not reached.

A few years after Mr. Lawry's arrival in New Zealand two useful educational institutions were established—a native model-school and the Wesleyan College. The first of these was founded at "Three Kings," three conical hills of volcanic character, near Auckland, for the purpose of training youth of both sexes, Maori and half-caste, in the rudiments of an English education, Christian knowledge, and industrial pursuits. Placed under the care of the Rev. Alexander Reid and Mrs. Reid, with an efficient staff of assistants, it continued in active operation till 1860, when it was interrupted by the disastrous Maori war. Wesley College came into existence under the presidency of the Rev. J. H. Fletcher, and was specially devoted to the training of the sons and daughters of missionaries

in New Zealand and the South Seas, though not to the exclusion altogether of the children of laymen. For some years Wesley College, though now non-existent, had a successful career as a high-class educational institution, and was the only one in the land in which any thing but the merest elementary instruction could be obtained.

Mr. Lawry continued to fill his office of general superintendent until the year 1854, when he retired from the active work of the ministry, and, after residing four years in Sydney, died, aged sixty-six, March 20, 1859.

Mission work among aborigines every-where has always suffered, more or less, from the detraction of the unsympathetic settler and the selfish trader; and it is not to be wondered at that the Maori mission should have awakened some hostility in the same classes of critics. Much labor has been bestowed upon the Maori race, and though it can no more be said of this than of any other benevolent enterprise that the results have been co-equal with the hopes and expectations indulged, yet the work, as a whole, has been a very great success. It cannot be claimed that success was immediate. Long and wearily did the first missionaries labor before they were able to claim their first convert, and it was only on the 14th of September, 1825, ten years after their landing, that they were able to administer Christian baptism to Rangi, the first to bear the Christian name among the Maori race. In the face of brutalizing cannibalism and infanticide, debasing polygamy and unclean indulgences, and a belief in a powerful priesthood and their black arts, it was an up-hill battle that had to be fought before a people who had been subjected to such mighty brutalizing forces could be brought under the purifying and elevating influences of Christ's gospel. But the liberation was accomplished, and, until the disastrous wars broke out, for which European cupidity and wickedness are so largely responsible, the Maoris who accepted Christianity and her institutions displayed an admirable spirit of devotion and fidelity to the truth they had received as from God. Habits of decency, regularity, and piety were fostered by New Testament teaching, and the law of God, so long as they yielded to its requirements, had to them a sanctity, especially as it enjoins religious worship and observance of the Sabbath, which secured sincere and devout



obedience. A military officer, Colonel Mundy, gives a description of a scene witnessed by him in 1847, which shows how these statements may be claimed to be realistic. He says :

I was returning with the governor from a walk to Mount Eden, when, upon turning the angle of the volcanoes, we came upon some hamlets belonging to people employed by government in quarrying the stone at the foot of the hill. I do not remember ever to have seen a more interesting or impressive scene than met our view as we looked down into the little valley below us. Eighty or a hundred Maoris, of various ages and both sexes, were standing, sitting, or reclining among the low fern in front of the village, in such groups and attitudes as accident had thrown them into. In the midst, on a slightly elevated mound, stood a native teacher, deeply tattooed in face, but dressed in decent black European clothes, who, with his Bible in his hand, was expounding to them the Gospel in their own tongue. Taking off our hats, we approached so as to become part of the congregation. No head turned toward us, no curious eyes were attracted by the arrival of the strangers, (as is so often the case in more civilized congregations,) though the governor was one of them. Their calm and grave looks were fixed with attention on the preacher, who, on his part, enforced his doctrine with a powerful and persuasive voice and manner, and with gestures replete with energy and animation. The sermon was, apparently, extempore, but there was no poverty of words or dearth of matter. It was delivered with the utmost fluency, and occasional rapid reference to and quotation from Scripture. The wild *locale* of this outdoor worship, (in the lap, as it were, of a mountain torn to pieces by its own convulsions, in the midst of heaped-up lava and scoria, with fern and flax waving in the wind,) invested the scene with a peculiar solemnity, and carried one back some centuries in the history of the world.

Similar testimonies from impartial sources might be adduced to almost any extent; while records of public profession of faith in Christ, verified by holy living and crowned by triumphant dying, fill the note-books of many a devoted missionary.

Despite the unwillingness of some even who have been the most profited by Maori civilization to admit their obligation to Christianity, in the present instance it is undeniable that it made a way for British law and British commerce. Sir George Grey, twice Governor of New Zealand, and who has spent so large a portion of his life in it, once said on a public occasion : "I feel confident that, regarded as a mere money investment, the very best investment England can make is to send out in advance—and far in advance of either colonists or merchants

—missionaries, who are to prepare the way for those who are to follow them." And, said the first governor, Captain Hobson, addressing the Legislature, in 1841: "Whatever difference of opinion may be entertained as to the value and extent of the missionary body, there can be no doubt that they have rendered important service to the country, or that, but for them, a British colony would not at this moment be established in New Zealand." If to reduce a rude language to writing, to provide an elementary literature, and to instruct in the simpler arts and handicrafts of civilization, be to prepare the way for a profitable intercourse on the part of a commercial nation with a strong, brave, and intelligent native race, then the Wesleyan missionaries of New Zealand, along with their brethren of other Churches, are entitled to the ungrudging thanks of many who have built up substantial fortunes out of their trading in the fair and fertile home of the Maori.

By the blessing of God the missionaries had been able to cope successfully with native superstition and ferocity. There remained another obstacle to their work, which came from their own race. A country so admirably adapted for colonization as New Zealand was sure to attract Europeans and Americans to its shores in large numbers; and it is simple truth to say that, while many of the earliest settlers were orderly, virtuous, and Christian, all of them were by no means so. A government officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Russell, native commissioner, speaks, in 1862, to this point as follows:

The conduct of some of the Europeans who have located themselves in the Mohaka and Wairoa districts would almost lead me to suppose that they were the barbarians, and the Maoris the more civilized people. Scenes of drunkenness and outrage are described, in which men have taken part whose education and position should have led to a very different line of conduct, and which bring the moderation and forbearance of the natives into very strong contrast.

New forms of evil were thus presented to the Maori, and that, too, by the countrymen of the very men who had persuaded him to abandon slavery and cannibalism. Drinking, gambling, profanity, and Sabbath-breaking were now before his eyes; and what wonder if, as he beheld them, he first lost confidence in the religion of his benefactors, and ere long abandoned it to return to the more complicated and unmeaning religious

superstition of Hau-hauism. Very soon it could be said of the Maori as of the Englishman, "He swears like a trooper;" and, as if to fix the responsibility of his profanity upon those who had taught him it, he swore in English. Whereas the Sabbath in aboriginal New Zealand had for years been observed with a strictness not exceeded in Christian England, it soon lost its sacredness in Maori estimation after British troops were seen fighting on it. The shady side of the contrast would be quickly seen by the discerning Maori mind, when the British troops took the Ruapekapeka fort while its dusky defenders were in the very act of worshiping the British soldiers' God. To inconsistency, religious division must be added as an effective cause of Maori apostasy; and if blame in this matter is to be rightly centered, it must undoubtedly be located with a pretentious Anglicanism and a still more pretentious Romanism, which obtruded themselves many years after the evangelical Marsden and his associates had extended the hand of Christian cordiality to Leigh and his Wesleyan brethren. Bishop Selwyn is undoubtedly deserving of all the commendation which has been bestowed upon him as an eminently successful missionary bishop; but it is regretfully remembered by some now venerable Methodist missionaries, who did good service in Maori evangelization years before he landed in New Zealand, that he did not always repress, either in himself or his subordinates, an arrogant bearing toward ministers who did not attach the same value as himself to episcopal teachings and orders. A yet further and final cause of disaffection and apostasy soon made itself apparent in the hostile relations established between some of the more powerful native tribes and the government of the day. The Maori had learned that his land was his wealth, and, as he reflected that it had too often been parted with for prices wholly inadequate, and on negotiations not always honorable, he resolved to refuse and defy all claimants to it outside his tribe or nation. A war-feeling grew up in his breast. Disquietude, debate, and passion took the place of security, order, and peace; and ultimately the white man came to be regarded as the Maori's bitterest foe.

With all these causes of disaffection working together among a highly imaginative race, it is not to be wondered at that relief from perplexity and annoyance should be sought for

in a change of religious belief and social relations; nor that it should be imagined that such relief was most likely to be met with by a return to at least some of the old superstitions. Accordingly, a wide-spread and furious spirit of fanaticism displayed itself during the last Maori war, in what is called the Pai-Marire movement, speedily followed by another, bearing the name of Hau-hau. "Pai-Marire" means "good and peaceful," while "Hau-hau" signifies "to deal blows to." Hau-hauism, which as a system became quite as much political as religious, was a remarkable compound of Romanism, Spiritualism, Mormonism, and Judaism. Te Ua, a fanatical Maori, bolder and more unscrupulous than the rest, and shrewd enough to discern a favorable opportunity for distinguishing himself, claimed to have received a revelation from the angel Gabriel raising him to the position of a prophet. By virtue of powers vested in him, he instituted orders of priests, and assured the discontented Maoris that if they would but place themselves under their power, following at the same time his leadership as high-priest, and paying homage to the Virgin Mary, Gabriel would assuredly grant them victory over the Pakehas. Captain Lloyd, an English officer of the 57th Regiment, fell into the hands of the fanatics, and, being beheaded, his head, after being cured, and then carried in procession, was reserved for sacred use as a medium of communication with Jehovah. Te Ua, having gathered together his priests, solemnly declared that through the poor captain's head the tenets of the new politico-religious system had been revealed in the following order:

1. All its followers to be called "Pai-Marire."
2. Gabriel, with his legions, will protect them.
3. The Virgin Mary will be always with them.
4. The religion of England, as taught in the Bible, is false.
5. The Scriptures must all be burned.
6. No notice must be taken of their Christian Sabbath.
7. Men and women to live promiscuously.
8. Complete victory to follow the vigorous "Hau."
9. The European population to be driven out of New Zealand.
10. This will be done when the head [of Captain Lloyd] has made its circuit of the land.
11. Men will then come from heaven to teach them knowledge.
12. The priests have the power to teach the Maoris English.

The new belief spread like wild-fire among the disaffected and belligerent tribes, many of whom, including the more powerful and intelligent, had renounced their allegiance to the

Queen of England; set up their own king, in 1858, in the person of Te Whero Whero, or Potatau, an old chief of high rank by birth, and widely respected, to whom they required all Europeans, the missionaries included, to promise allegiance or quit their country; enacted laws disallowing European magistrates, forbidding the imprisonment of natives, and prohibiting the construction of roads; and, in 1864, renounced Christianity, and threatened the extirpation of all European inhabitants. Some of the tribes retained their friendly relations to the English government, and displayed fidelity and disinterestedness rarely equaled by such as have for centuries been under the influence of Christian doctrine and motive. But for ten years fierce warfare prevailed in the fairest portions of the land, involving the loss of hundreds of lives, the destruction of contented and happy homes, the expenditure of millions of money, the confiscation of tracts of fair and fertile country, and the engendering of bitter feeling not likely to admit of the restoration of completely amicable relations for many years yet to come; and all this, it may be admitted, with defeat of the Maori, but certainly not his conquest, as its result. Of obtuseness, incapacity, and blundering on the part of the British army there were more than enough; while there was little that added to its luster or increased its renown. Saddest of all is the reflection that the Maori campaign, with its decade of suffering and loss, was by no means unavoidable, and that it can never claim a place in the list of those wars which men agree to call either "necessary" or "righteous."

As might be expected, the force of so violent a reaction as lay in the uncontrollable wildnesses of Hau-hauism was felt by no class of settlers more keenly than by the missionaries. Formerly trusted as their most judicious advisers and constant friends, the Maoris now showed them the most bitter hatred. Not merely had they to abandon their stations, but, as in the case of Bishop Williams, some had to save their lives by hasty flight. Two valuable lives were sacrificed to their insatiate vengeance—those of the Rev. C. S. Volkner, of the Episcopal, and the Rev. John Whiteley, of the Wesleyan, mission—both eminently devoted men, who had spent many years in ungrudging service of their murderers. Mr. Whiteley was specially respected and trusted by a large section even of the more turbu-



lent natives, at the same time that he was implicitly confided in by the government because of his wise counsels, and esteemed by the settlers because of his transparent and saintly character. Yet these considerations were not sufficient to shield even him from the blood-thirsty frenzies of Hau-hau fanaticism. As was his wont, he had gone to one of his distant preaching appointments on the Saturday of February 13, 1869, to be ready for divine service on the following Sabbath, and on his arrival found the place—Puke-aruhe, in Taranaki—in possession of an armed party of natives, who had murdered every one of the settlers that had taken shelter in the redoubt. Approaching them, as is supposed, with full confidence in his influence over them to prevent further murders, he was fired on while yet at some distance, his horse first dropping under him, and himself speedily falling pierced with no less than five bullets. The government evinced its appreciation of the good man's services in its behalf by voting his widow an annuity of £100, which she still enjoys.

The worst is past, and better days are dawning. There will be no more Maori war, for the "King" party is fast losing its influence, and, indeed, can scarcely be said to have an existence. Of those who were hurried away by the terrible fanatical force of Hau-hauism, many are returning to their "right minds." The Scriptures are once more finding their way among those who had so grievously departed from their teaching, as was seen but recently, when two cases of copies were readily disposed of at an influential meeting of the "Kingites" with the premier, Sir George Grey; while there is clearly discernible a growing desire for the return of missionary agency among them. Henceforward such agency will be native, and to provide it both the Wesleyan and Episcopal Churches are engaged in training young and intelligent Maoris of promise. Six Maori chiefs have seats in the two Houses of Parliament—two in the upper and four in the lower house; while many fill honorable positions as native magistrates or assessors. When it is added that about two thousand Maori children are being taught English in schools, and that the outward condition of the race, as a whole, as to diet, clothing, and general habits, is greatly improved, it will be seen that there is yet reason for hope for the future of the Maori. Unfortunately, the race is decreasing;

but with a census return that can show a total of over 42,000, there is presented to the Churches of New Zealand, for many years to come, no little scope for all its energies upon Maori evangelization. And the Maori, with his high capabilities of intelligence, and especially his ready discernment between right and wrong, is worthy of it all.

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ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

*American Reviews.*

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN, October, November, December, 1879. (Chicago, Illinois.)—1. The Mound Builders; by J. E. Stevenson. 2. Alaska and its Inhabitants; by Rev. Sheldon Jackson. 3. Antiquity of the Tobacco Pipe in Europe. Part II.—Switzerland; by Edwin A. Barber. 4. Fort Wayne, (Old Fort Miami,) and the Route from the Maumee to the Wabash; by R. S. Robertson. 5. How the Rabbit Killed the (Male) Winter; by J. O. Dorsey. 6. The Delaware Indians in Ohio; by S. D. Peet. 7. The Silent Races; by L. J. Dupre. 8. Sacrificial Mounds in Illinois and Ohio.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1880. (Philadelphia.)—1. Pretended Unity of Modern Philosophy; by Rev. J. Ming, S.J. 2. Vocations to the Priesthood; by Right Rev. Thomas A. Becker, D.D. 3. Socialism at the Present Day; by Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S.J. 4. The Necessity for Infallibility; by Dr. Daniel Gans. 5. Archbishop Gibbon, and his Episcopalian Critic, Dr. Stearns; by A. de G. 6. English Manners; by A. Featherstone Marshall, B.A. 7. Is Froude a Historian? J. Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 8. Insanity as a Plea for Criminal Acts; Insanity as Emotional or Affective; and whether Insanity can be of the Will alone; Rev. Walter H. Hill, S.J. 9. The Stack-O'Hara Case; by S. L. M.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, January, 1880. (Andover.)—1. Calvin's Ethics; by Rev. Frank H. Foster. 2. Recent Works Bearing on the Relation of Science to Religion; by Rev. George Frederick Wright. 3. Method of the Theological Use of the Bible, Especially of the Old Testament; by A. Duff, Jun., Ph.D. 4. Do the Scriptures Prohibit the Use of Alcoholic Beverages? by Rev. A. B. Rich, D.D. 5. The Meaning of *שבת*; by Rev. Wm. Henry Cobb. 6. The Sabbath in the Old Dispensation, and in the Change of Observance from the Seventh to the Lord's Day; by Rev. William De Loss Love, D.D. 7. Dr. Dörner's Christian Theology; by Dr. D. W. Simon.

CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY, January, 1880. (Lebanon, Tenn.)—1. A Chapter from the Evidences; by R. Beard, D.D. 2. Scientific Theism; by J. I. D. Hinds, Ph.D. 3. Sanctification; by S. T. Anderson, D.D. 4. Baptismal Regeneration—Part I; by S. G. Burney, D.D. 5. Individual Immortality: The Problem of the Ages; by A. B. Miller, D.D. 6. Exegetical; by R. V. Foster.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, January, 1880. (Gettysburg.)—1. Mr. Ruskin and the Lord's Prayer; by C. A. Stork, D.D. 2. Is Conscience Infallible? by M. Valentine, D.D. 3. The Lutheran Church in Columbia County, N. Y.; by Rev. William Hull. 4. Secular Education; by A. A. E. Taylor, D.D. 5. The Historical Character of the Book of Genesis; by Rev. Dr. Geo. H. Schodde. 6. Assurance; by Rev. Joel Swartz, D.D. 7. Phillips Brooks' Influence of Jesus; by C. A. Stork, D.D. 8. The Principle of the Reformation; by Prof. W. H. Wynn, Ph.D.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, January, 1880. (New York.)

The Contemporary Review contains an article on "The Eighteenth Century," by Hillebrand, from which we give its view of Wesley and the Methodist movement.

Little was left either of the mysticism or the superstition of Christianity. All that remained was a very prosaic system of morals, and a very jejune metaphysical belief in an all-loving Creator. The worship of God dwindled more and more into a mere form. The sermons were moral essays, such as Addison might have written in the *Spectator*; indeed, at last, under the influence of Sterne's daringly profane genius, they became short humorous lectures on all possible subjects, except Christ and redemption. There was still, however, the outward semblance of reverence for Christianity, which even Hume did not discard. Gibbon was the first to attack religion openly and without any show of respect; but Gibbon was hardly to be called an Englishman any longer, at least with respect to his philosophical standpoint, which had been determined wholly by his residence on the Continent. By the end of the century, however, this rationalism had so far spread that Paine and Priestley could use its language even to the people, because "the faith which had long failed to satisfy the educated classes was now rejected also by the instincts of rude common sense." (Leslie Stephen.) Even the conservative divines, who showed a hostile front both to the orthodox and the freethinkers, preached a morality which amounted to nothing more than sentimentalism or mere prudence. They did, indeed, retain the theological forms of speech; but they used them with such an uncertain sound that the hearer might put any construction upon them that he pleased. They talked about harmony, oneness, the best of worlds, and so on, and found God in nature, but said little or nothing about his personality. God had, indeed, once shown himself to man in a tangible form, but that was long ago, in remote wonder-world; and since then the Most High had ceased to interfere with the order of nature. In short, God the Father had become a sort of "supernatural overseer, whose decrees were carried out in an extra-natural world, but who (for this world) was a constitutional monarch who had signed a social contract and had withdrawn from the active government." The argument, therefore, between Christians of this stamp and the Deists was, if we except the pugilistic Warburton, a very tame one. Indeed, it could not well be otherwise, since the Deists did not wish to stamp out religion, and their opponents were by no means intolerant.

Few things could bear less resemblance to the English Church of to-day than the Church of this period. While in our time the still very numerous Broad-Church party can hardly gain a hearing, between the aristocratic Catholicizing High-Church and the Puritanical democratic Low-Church, at that time it was

almost exclusively dominant, taking the lead on all points; in a word, it was the fashion, for the High and Low-Church of to-day are the outgrowth respectively of the Wesleyan movement of the last century, and of the Tractarian agitation of our own.

The English Church was wonderfully adapted to the English mind and character, as well as to the historical conditions of the country. It had the advantage of being a national Church; it was free from the only dangerous rival, and did not extend its toleration to that which "can never be regarded simply as a religion." (I believe Mr. Lecky is the only living English writer who is able to rise to this unqualified judgment upon Catholicism.) It had, moreover, rejected the dogmas of Catholicism most obnoxious to reason; it was a compromise between two extremes. It had a monarchical and aristocratic constitution; it was closely bound up with society through the marriage of its priests, and yet, as being sure of a following, had not abandoned the historical tradition so dear to Englishmen.

In the middle of the century the indifference had become so great within the Church, that Hume could say: "The nation has settled down into the coolest indifference to religious matters of any nation in the world." This was, indeed, only half true, but the great man who dwelt on the lofty heights of an intellectual culture did not notice the movement which had already begun deep down in the valley among the working classes. The judgment Hume pronounced referred only to the State Church, and so far it was fully justified.

As early as 1740 a reaction of religious sentiment began to make itself felt. The pietism which, fifty years before, had renewed for a century the growth of religious life in Germany, awoke in England also. The Dissenters were still a feeble minority at the beginning of the century—about one in twenty-two to the adherents of the State Church. The Independents, or Congregationalists, who would have been glad to see the State Church broken up into a number of small bodies, independent of the State, and who were strongly Calvinistic in their dogmas, especially in the doctrine of predestination, had, after a great show of resistance, been almost carried away by the religious reaction. The political instincts of the English rebelled against a Church which was to be only an invisible spiritual community of the elect scattered over all the world. The Anabaptists, who were bent on purifying the character of the Church, and who sought to make the initial rite a more rational act, and the Quakers, who believed in the abolition of all outward rites, set themselves against the new movement. They still lived on, and lost but few of their adherents, but they won no new ones. Only the young sect of the Unitarians, so entirely a creation of the last century, grew and flourished; this was, however, of necessity, only a creed for the cultured, and could not become a national religion even in this century of enlightenment. For it required, as an essential feature, the complete emancipation of the

Church from all obligations which could in any way limit the doctrinal liberty of the clergy; and religion, a national religion, cannot exist under such conditions. It was otherwise with Wesleyanism, which did not at first identify itself with Dissent, but, like pietism in Germany, made its aim to renovate the national Church through the feelings and by a spiritual regeneration. It therefore formed lay societies and associations within the Church, and required manifest conversion and the personal reception of revealed truth by every individual; it even introduced Moravian institutions, and Wesley himself was in direct connection with the Moravian body. He wished, however, to remain in communion of the Established Church. Such a compromise could not, of course, be lasting, but he had, so to speak, to be turned out by the shoulders. Long after he and his apostle, Whitefield, had transferred their activity from the Church which had driven them out to other and freer fields, they declared themselves to be true members of the Established Church. First in 1785, and more positively in 1795, the "Evangelical movement," as it was at first called, was consolidated into the Methodist sect, which now numbers in England alone a million of members, (some say 2,400,000,) and in America two millions. Nevertheless, it began from that time to decline, for "although powerful religious movements always emanate from the classes which are inaccessible to philosophical culture, they are, nevertheless, doomed to become unfruitful unless they are capable of assimilating some philosophical element." (Leslie Stephen.) This unfruitfulness must be understood, however, only of Methodism as a sect. Wesleyanism, as a historical fact, was abundantly fruitful. It gave new life to the State Church, roused it to resistance, and discovered to it its own weak points.

Such movements, however, arising out of feeling, always produce in the end a reactionary effect, as had been already shown in the case of German pietism, while, on the other hand, rationalistic movements are, of necessity, always progressive. The Tractarianism, Puseyism, Ritualism, of the present century, which would never have arisen but for the impulse given by Wesleyanism, are thoroughly reactionary in their nature.

Thus has this much calumniated eighteenth century, which produced such fair flowers and noble fruits on the continent, left deep and beneficial traces also in England. It was an era of increased political liberty; of revival in literature; and of remarkable religious development. This should be remembered by the Radicals, advanced thinkers, and High-Churchmen, who are wont to look back with so much contempt on the age of their grandfathers. A century in which England twice, at the commencement and at the close, defended European independence against schemes of universal monarchy, and built up and perfected its own internal constitution; an age which produced, from "Gulliver" to "Hallowe'en," a series of literary masterpieces such as no other nation in the world possesses; an age which exercised



the most complete religious toleration the world has ever seen, without falling a prey to religious marasmus—such a century need not shrink from comparison with any other, even in the glorious annals of English history.—Pp. 11, 12.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for JANUARY contains a very able article, entitled "The Metaphysics of Science," by Prof. Alexander Winchell. Its aim is to show that Science can exist only under assumption of a basis of metaphysical principles, and that that basis is in its nature truly teleological. The contempt so often expressed by scientists in regard to metaphysics is, therefore, suicidal; for the scientist can neither draw an induction nor propound a demonstration without the due metaphysical postulates. Metaphysical truths are to science what the nails are to the planks of a ship, the fasteners which enable the totality of said planks to be a ship. Agib, the son of Cassib, we are veraciously told in the "Arabian Nights," sailed his ship so near to a loadstone mountain that its nails were all pulled out; and what became of Agib the son of Cassib's ship? Just what would become of science if its metaphysical nails were extracted. It would tumble to pieces, and cease to be science. Dr. Winchell's style is sententious, embracing a large proportion of Latin words, rendering his thought difficult of attainment to the popular reader; but the language is very uniformly the exact expression of the thought.

Inquirers are sometimes perplexed as to the doctrine of theism implied in the theory of EVOLUTION, as evolution presents itself both in the animal system by *heredity*, and in the astro-nomic system by the *nebular hypothesis*. Dr. Winchell thus finds theism in both:

All that we know of fundamental plans of structure in the organic world is but a body of facts exemplifying adjustment of parts, not alone to each other, but to an archetypal conception—an intelligential standard. It is frequently suggested that fundamental relationships have resulted from the law of heredity, with progressive divergence. That, probably, is a valid scientific account to give of what have been styled *plans* of organization; and every one is free to rest in the finality of science. But if our minds are so constituted that we irresistibly conclude design from co-ordination, regardless of the instrumentality or means by which the co-ordination becomes expressed in matter, then heredity with divergence is not an ultimate explanation, and every man is at liberty, without reproach, to pass beyond the pale of science, and recognize heredity as a thoughtful determination

fixed for the purpose of introducing order and method into the organic world, as we find them. So the mathematical order of the solar system is explicable in scientific terms, by ascribing it to the cooling of a primitive nebula; but the forces engaged in the evolution of a planetary system must be rationally conceived as merely the instruments which work out symmetrical results co-ordinated to a general concept or plan. If, finally, the deepest law of nature is the law of evolution, we may recognize that as the all-embracing principle under which events emerge into being; but reason can never be divested of the simple conviction that events co-ordinated on so comprehensive a scale, and co-ordinated to so vast a scheme, give expression to *purpose equally vast and comprehensive*. The explanations of science are held to be valid, but they do not go far enough; they are not ultimate explanations. By the inherent principles of our mental being we postulate and posit motive and agency behind the last explanation of science.—P. 81.

The following is his exposition of the nature of FORCE:

As design is the necessary implication of parts co-ordinated to each other, or to a general concept, so metaphysical cause is the only rational explanation of those ultimate physical antecedents which belong to the category of sub-causes or scientific causes. Of metaphysical cause science professes to have no knowledge, holding that invariable antecedence is the scientific conception of causation. But, manifestly, no phenomenon comes into existence *because* another phenomenon precedes. The precedence is the sign of antecedent efficiency. So the law under which a phenomenon arises is modal, not causal, and implies prior ordination, as the subordinated event implies transcendent causation. The *conditio sine qua non* of a phenomenon is not its essential cause, but the condition of the operativeness of a certain law which expresses a method of activity of essential cause. The notion of metaphysical cause is therefore the underlying ground of all the ultimate conceptions of science.

That notion, in spite of the formal restriction of the logic of science, has found constant expression in scientific language under the name of *force*. This, like the assumed atom and molecule of physics, the ethereal medium and the ultimate incompressibility of matter, is a purely metaphysical conception. It is a name which the necessities of thinking have impelled us to adopt for the efficiency transmitted from or through the phenomenon which stands in the place of invariable antecedent. Yet there are questions still deeper which offer themselves as subjects of analytic thought. Is force an entity or an attribute? If an entity, is it self-acting or subordinated? If subordinated, what is the nature of the power which subordinates it? If self-acting, then the discernment and design revealed in the results of its activity are attributes which characterize a demiurge. But, if we say force

is an entity which produces results, what is the means by which it produces them? Are not all results produced by force, and is not our reasoning thus reduced to the proposition that the entity force employs force to produce results? This proposition is unintelligible, and shows that the conception of force as an entity is absurd. Force is an attribute.—Pp. 81, 82.

Dr. Chalmers opined that theism is proved, not so much by the existence of matter, as by its "collocations" into an intellectual system; but Dr. Winchell finds the following proof of *theism in material existence*:

But, if force must be conceived as an attribute, what is the nature of its subject? *What* is it which exerts or manifests force? To say that the attribute force exerts itself is to make it both attribute and subject. Something which is not force, but which is capable of exerting force, is therefore necessarily implied in the conception of force. Is matter the subject? Then, *first*, it is a subject which thinks and purposes; for the results of force are thoughtful and purposive, and matter does thus possess a "power and potency" of psychic results. But, *secondly*, we are not certain that matter possesses a subjective nature. We only know matter phenomenally, and it may easily be that phenomena constitute all there is of matter in itself. Yet phenomena are manifestations of something possessing the power to produce them. The phenomena which we cognize as matter are manifestations of force. If there be no subject matter, there must be some other subject revealing itself in the phenomena which we group under the designation of matter. We are driven, then, to the recognition of an intelligent subject as the ground of the attribute of force manifesting its activities in the being of what we call matter, as well as in the changes which are impressed upon matter.

The inquiry does not end even here; for it remains to ascertain what is the mode of origin of force from its subject. What is the method by which the subject reveals the attribute of force? Is forceful emanation from the subject an unconscious and continuous necessity of its being; or is it a conscious and voluntary activity? If necessary, then some higher power has imposed the necessity; if unconscious, then some higher intelligence directs according to the laws of conscious thought; for co-ordination of products implies at least two things consciously apprehended both in their separateness and in their relation; unconscious intelligence is a nugatory expression, for consciousness is the prime moment of intelligence. If forceful manifestations are effected through the method of volition, then the subject which constitutes the ground of all cosmical force is possessed of will as well as intellect and susceptibility to motive, and is consequently a personal entity—an entity thinking, feeling, and willing with reference to that which is not itself.—Pp. 82, 83.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, January, 1880. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. Methodist Episcopacy. 2. Development of Monotheism among the Greeks. 3. Studies in Shakspeare. 4. The Conflict. 5. Bible Revision. 6. The Problem of Life—The Book of Ecclesiastes. 7. Spencer's First Principles. 8. Providential Uses of Pain. 9. Social Life of our Forefathers.

The welcome return of Dr. T. O. Summers to the editorial chair of the Southern Quarterly suggests some old antebellum, we had almost said antediluvian, recollections. The bitter antislavery contest was then at its height, and the presages of war were growing more and more distinct. Now the question of slavery is settled, even if the question of serfdom is not. We cherish the hope of prospective peace, not without recognition of lowering omens in the coming presidential contest.

This Quarterly is externally done up in good taste, has nearly two hundred octavo pages, with articles of a high character, and an extended editorial department, such as Dr. S. can furnish, priced at three dollars, in advance. The only fault which we have to find with it is the oppressive omission of the names of the writers, sustained by unreasonable reasons. The practice of furnishing the names exists in all parts of Europe, excepting England, and with, we believe, every Quarterly and Monthly in America, except the Southern Methodist.

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### *English Reviews.*

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1880. (London.)—1. Richard Baxter; by the Rev. Donald Fraser, D.D. 2. Evolution in Religion; by the Rev. Dunlop Moore, D.D. 3. Testimony of St. Paul to Jesus Christ; by the Rev. J. Oswald Dykes, D.D. 4. The Unity of the Human Race, Considered from an American Stand-point; by the Rev. Prof. John Campbell. 5. Poetry of Edmund Spenser; by M. H. Towry. 6. Righteousness of Life. 7. The Formal and the Vital in the Bible; by the Rev. I. E. Dwinell. 8. The Lord's Supper; by Prof. Peck, D.D.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1880. (London.)—1. The Lords of Andros. 2. Glimpses of the New Gold and Silver Mines. 3. Modern Greece. 4. Practical Aesthetics. 5. Why is Scotland Radical? 6. The Christian Idea of God. 7. Nonconformist Psalmody. 8. Mr. Gladstone and the Nation.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, January, 1880. (New York.)—1. Agricultural Depression. 2. Hamerton's Life of Turner. 3. The Military Position of Russia and England in Central Asia. 4. Ireland: her Present and Future. 5. The Persian Miracle Play. 6. British Light-houses. 7. Russia Before and After the War. 8. Lord Minto in India. 9. Plain Whig Principles.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, January, 1880. (New York.)—1. Colonial Aid in War Time. 2. Early Greek Thought. 3. The Grand Dukes of Tuscany. 4. The Organization and Registration of Teachers. 5. Imperium et Libertas. 6. The Relation of Silver to Gold as Coin. 7. Social Philosophy. 8. Russia and Russian Reformers.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1880. (New York.)—1. Lord Bolingbroke. 2. The Progress of Taste. 3. Bishop Wilberforce. 4. The Successors of Alexander and Greek Civilization in the East. 5. Prince Metternich. 6. The Romance of Modern Travel. 7. Mr. Bright and the Duke of Somerset on Monarchy and Democracy. 8. The Credentials of the Opposition.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1880. (London.)—1. Egyptian and Sacred Chronology. 2. Modern Realism. 3. A Victim of the Fulk Laws. 4. The Transvaal and its People. 5. Charles Waterton. 6. Our Convict System. 7. St. John's Doctrine of Christian Sonship.

The following notice of a biography of St. Hugh of Avalon, by G. G. Perry, gives us an impressive idea of a model mediæval bishop:

Probably the ordinary conception of a monk is that of a man whose life, even when it happens to be free from vice, is passed away in indolent devotion; and probably few ordinary readers have fairly realized the immense obligations which literature owes to the monastic settlements of the dark ages. Not to mention the familiar fact that the literary treasures of all antiquity, both sacred and profane, have been preserved for us by the monks, it is right to remark that we owe our knowledge of Europe, from the days of Charlemagne to the revival of letters, mainly to the monasteries. Especially in our own country, from the times of Bede to those of the Edwards, we are indebted for almost all our information to a series of literary monks. The great works which were composed in the monasteries, above all at Peterborough and St. Albans, are an almost inexhaustible treasury of historical information. But for such writers as these, the days of William Rufus, Henry, and Stephen, would be almost as perfect a blank as the history of Peru a couple of centuries before the invasion of Pizarro. The great interest which is taken by this generation in historical inquiries has brought many of these works into circulation; and, among others, Professor Stubbs has earned the gratitude of students by the care and industry with which he has edited these relics of English antiquity. Some years ago Mr. Dimock published an edition of the *Metrical Life* and the *Great Life* of St. Hugh of Lincoln. He then began to prepare for publication the works of Geraldus Cambrensis, whom Mr. Green describes as the wittiest of court chaplains, the most troublesome of bishops, and the gayest and most amusing of all the authors of his day. On Mr. Dimock's death the work was delayed for some time, but afterward completed by Mr. Freeman. When the *Great Life* appeared, Mr. Perry, already favorably known by his life of Bishop Grossteste, wisely determined to give this interesting biography to the English reader; the work, however, was delayed in the expectation that Geraldus Cambrensis would supply additional information. As soon, then, as this author was published, Mr. Perry proceeded with his task, and the result is the present biography of St. Hugh of Avalon, the main builder of the Cathedral at Lincoln.



Mr. Perry has given us a picture which enables us to realize, with tolerable accuracy, the religious life of our ancestors in the days of Cœur-de-Lion and Lackland. Probably even in his own Cathedral of Lincoln there is no very absorbing interest taken in St. Hugh himself; but still the study of this book may be pressed upon all those who desire to learn how our religious ancestors actually lived and thought and felt. Protestant readers especially need this kind of literature; for they usually regard the ages before the Reformation as altogether dark and corrupt. We are in danger of forgetting the truth, so often proclaimed by Carlyle, that no system can long endure after it has become altogether corrupt.

After an introductory chapter, in which he relates the previous history of Lincoln Cathedral, Mr. Perry opens the more immediate subject of his book by a capital account of the kings and clergy in the days of St. Hugh. His sketch of the three monarchs, Henry the Second, Richard, and John, agrees with the estimate formed by other modern historians; but his intimate acquaintance with the monastic annalists enables him to paint very vividly the manners and customs of the clergy. The wealth of the Church had already begun to accumulate in the hands of the monks, and consequently the parish priests were often in a state of wretched poverty. The inevitable result was that they eked out their meager incomes by various forms of simony. Thus it was a common practice to say the mass as far as the offertory; when that had been taken up, to begin afresh, and to repeat the process as long as the congregation put any thing into the boxes. Perhaps profanity never reached a higher point than when the Lord's Supper was used in magical rites. The mass was said over waxen images, devoting to death, with solemn imprecations, the persons represented. No wonder the monkish annalist remarks that the rural parish priests were worse than Judas; for he, believing Jesus to be a man, sold him for thirty pieces of silver; but they, believing him to be a God, sell him for a penny. Another feature of clerical life under the Plantagenets was the remarkable ignorance even of those priests who undertook to preach. "A certain priest preaching about Barnabas, said 'he was a good and holy man, but he was a robber,' confounding Barnabas with Barabbas. Another described the Canaanitish woman as partly woman, partly a dog, thinking her name to be derived from *canis*, a dog. The Latin equivalent for a 'broiled fish and a piece of a honey-comb' was transformed by another into 'an ass-fish and beans covered with honey!' The word used in the Vulgate for a 'fire of coals,' (*pruna*), another explained as meaning plums. A somewhat more serious fault was his who argued from the words, 'Fornicators and adulterers God will judge,' that no other evil-doers were to be judged."—Page 152. Yet more serious charges than those of simony and ignorance were constantly laid against the clergy. William of Newbury mentions more than three hundred homicides with

which the clergy of his own time were popularly credited; while even some of those officials who had been active in the introduction of celibacy admit that it had produced a frightful amount of immorality. "The superior clergy were generally," says Mr. Perry, "free from these stains, but ignorance, meanness, avarice and servility were common among them all. There was a paralysis of discipline in the Church." There is no need to study carefully the lives of the leading bishops in order to judge their spiritual influence. Every reader of English history knows the pomp and vanity, the secular ambition and religious pride, the violence and warlike habits, of many of these servants of Christ. Shakspeare's Cardinal Beaufort expresses the popular conception of a powerful bishop: that there is no man so wicked as a wicked priest. Thus the clergy were base, and apparently the people were miserable. A modern historian gives an extract from the English Chronicle, which reveals the terrible anguish of the English in the days of St. Hugh's happy youth in Burgundy. "They hanged men up by their feet, and smoked them with foul smoke. Some were hanged up by their thumbs, others by the head, and burning things were hung on to their feet. They put knotted strings about their head, and writhed them till they entered the brain. They put men into prisons where adders and snakes and toads were crawling, and so they tormented them. Many thousands they afflicted with hunger." Against this terrible oppression the Church alone had power to come in between the people and the barons; and when, therefore, the clergy were corrupt, we may conclude that it was never merry world in England. Such were some aspects of English society in the days of St. Hugh; and his biographer rightly remarks that there could have been no greater boon conferred on the country than the sincere, bold, and saintly example of the Burgundian monk.

Hugh was born at Avalon, close to the Savoy frontier, probably in 1135. He sprang from a line of noble ancestors, as renowned for piety as for gentle blood; and when, in his eighth or ninth year, his mother died, his father devoted himself to a "religious" life, and took Hugh with him into the monastery. A beautiful feature in the future bishop's character was his affection for birds, and even squirrels, which were tamed by him so perfectly that they would leave the woods, and, at the hour of supper, come to share his frugal meals. Finding the discipline of the monastery not sufficiently stern to satisfy his devotion, Hugh broke an oath of loyalty which he had taken, and fled to the Carthusian Convent, at Grenoble. Here Mr. Perry notices a singular fact which seems to us to prove that the life of man cannot possibly be ordered by regulations imposed by external authority. The Cistercians required that the whole time of the monks should be occupied in devotion and manual labor, while the Franciscan friars were not allowed to possess a book. Now such is the perversity of human nature that the laborious Cistercians became the most luxurious, and the ignorant Franciscans

the most learned of the monastic orders. Here, in the obscurity of Grenoble, St. Hugh spent his early manhood, until he was suddenly translated to England, became the favorite of the sagacious Henry the Second, and ended his days as Bishop of Lincoln.

The immediate cause for Hugh's transfer was the foundation of a new abbey in Somersetshire. The Norman Conquest had given a vast impulse to this particular form of piety, so that the next century witnessed the rise of many of our most stately buildings, and in ten years which followed 1128 nearly twenty large Cistercian monasteries were erected, including such stately foundations as Riveaux and Fountains. In accordance with the prevailing fashion, Henry made a vow to found three abbeys; and after several other priors had failed, Hugh was invited to take the government of the new foundation at Witham, in Somersetshire. In his character of religious patron, Henry seems to have fallen into the error so amusingly put into rhyme by Mr. Canning:

"In matters of commerce, the fault of the Dutch  
Is giving too little, and asking too much."

Accordingly Hugh found that almost every thing was needed, and only after much ingenious diplomacy and some bold speaking, prevailed on the king to give full effect to his vow. At this period of his life he laid the foundation of a close intimacy with his sovereign, and it is pleasant to believe that Henry found one churchman who asked nothing for himself. The manner in which the pious monarch sought to defraud the heavenly powers may be judged from the singular history of a Bible. Henry gave ten marks to St. Hugh for the purchase of parchment, on which the monks might copy the word of God; but shortly afterward he determined to enrich his new foundation with a complete illuminated copy of the whole Bible. Accordingly, having heard that there was a fine copy in the monastery at Winchester, he coolly ordered the prior to make him a present of it. The latter, of course, did as he was commanded, hoping, but apparently in vain, for some rich reward in return. The king then sent the splendid manuscript as a royal present to Hugh and his brethren. Much to the credit of the brethren at Witham, it is added that when the pious fraud was discovered, Hugh insisted on returning the costly treasure to its first owners at Winchester.

In 1186 St. Hugh was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln. One of his first acts was to take a firm stand against the iniquitous forest laws. These laws were so oppressive that we can hardly understand how the country contrived to exist under the burden. The old annalist exclaims that "violence was instead of law, rapine a matter of praise, equity a thing to be hated, and innocence the greatest guilt." Hugh ventured to excommunicate the king's own forester, and did not consent to remove the excommu-

nication till the forester had submitted to be flogged. Mr. Perry rightly remarks, a little later in the narrative, that "a still greater proof of true courage, because it shows a moral courage very rare in the men of his generation, was the way in which Hugh behaved when invited to inspect an alleged miracle. A priest once called upon him to inspect a miraculous appearance in the chalice, where it was said that the actual conversion into flesh and blood of part of the host could be seen with the bodily eyes. Hugh indignantly refused to look at it. 'In the name of God,' he said, 'let them keep to themselves the signs of their want of faith.'"—Page 235. In his communication with his own diocese, Hugh appears to have been the very ideal of a Roman Catholic bishop. He performed with due solemnity all the official duties of his post; endeavored to familiarize himself with his flock; was especially successful in winning the affections of the young; and on the wildest nights, after the hardest toils, was ever at the call of the afflicted or bereaved. Mr. Perry says only little of this bishop's work as an architect; but the pious historian of the English cathedrals narrates that "the whole of the front choir, east transept, with its chapels, chapter house, and eastern side of the great transept, were all erected during his life, and such was his earnest zeal in this great work, that, when seized with mortal sickness in London, he occupied himself a considerable time in giving parting instructions to the master of the fabric. In him the bishop, the architect, and the saint were united." Mr. Perry dates the commencement of his work in 1190, or two years later. It is easy to believe that it was carried on with the greatest energy, when we find that the bishop himself worked with his own hands, carrying cut stones in a basket, or sometimes a hod of mortar on his head. It may be added here, that when the main body of the cathedral was completed, in 1280, the body of St. Hugh was translated to the magnificent presbytery at the east end of the choir, and inclosed in a shrine said to have been of solid gold. The historian already quoted appears to marvel that not even the sanctity of the good bishop could protect his remains from the sacrilegious hand of Henry the Eighth's Commissioners. Our wonder would rather be first, how so great a mass of gold was gathered together, and then how it escaped so long! One would fancy that when Cardinal Beaufort was Bishop of Lincoln such a mountain of gold would hardly be likely to escape annexation.

St. Hugh's intercourse with that strange hero of English romance, Richard I., was marked by the same intrepidity and dexterity which he had manifested in the previous reign. Not only did he venture to resist the king's demand for money, but he even openly remonstrated with him for his immorality. "If you serve God," said the bishop, "he will make your enemies peaceably disposed toward you, or he will overthrow them. But beware lest you commit some sin, either against God or your neighbor. It is currently reported of you that you are unfaithful to your

marriage bed, and that you receive bribes for appointments to spiritual offices. If this be true you cannot have peace from the Lord." This is in the true spirit of Nathan; and when we read these bold strong words, we can forgive the good bishop for appropriating a few relics of departed saints. Would that all monarchs had such bold advisers, and that all monarchs would heed their warnings! Equally bold was his treatment of the crafty, if cowardly, John. He preached before this monarch on the duties of the kings; but, much too serious for a man who made as port of all things, sacred and profane, he preached too long. Three times John sent messengers to the pulpit to tell the preacher to conclude; he, however, proceeded with his discourse till all his hearers, except John, who appears to have been as nearly a professed atheist as the times would allow, were deeply affected. Unfortunately, as has happened so frequently in later days, the bishop's eloquence failed to affect the one man whom it was mainly intended to reach.

St. Hugh died in London in the year 1200, in the episcopal residence, which stood on the present site of Lincoln's Inn. Twenty years later he was canonized according to the rites of the Church of Rome, and his shrine soon rivaled the popularity of that of Thomas à Becket, at Canterbury. Such a life, while scarcely conceivable in England to-day, must have been of incalculable benefit to his own generation, and the records of human virtue would have been incomplete without a suitable memorial of St. Hugh. His abiding monument on earth is the grand cathedral of Lincoln; and who can doubt that in the heavenly world he is already surrounded by many whom, according to his light, he allured to virtue? While we have felt it necessary to complain of some features of this work, we yet have to thank Mr. Perry for his instructive and learned volume. A little more care in the composition would have smoothed away a few blots, and made this biography as interesting as it is able. It is with history as with geography. The careful study of an atlas is necessary for all who wish to possess an accurate knowledge of any foreign country; but a far more vivid idea will be gained from a good painting of some characteristic village. In the same way, the historical student must make himself familiar with the long roll of kings, battles, and revolutions; but to make the life of our ancestors real, we need a careful photograph of some typical individual; and such a photograph of the days of the Plantagenets Mr. Perry has presented us in the life of St. Hugh.



### German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. Edited by Dr. Brieger. *Essays*: LINDNER, Pope Urban VI. *Critical Reviews*: STAHELIN, A Review of all New Works Published from 1876 to 1877 on the History of the Swiss Reformation. *Analecta*: 1. BRIEGER, Remarks on Book VIII. of the Church History of Eusebius. 2. HARNACK, The Muratorian Fragment. 3. KOLDE, The Fifth Lateran Council. 4. SCHULTZE, Documents Relating to the History of the German Reformation. 5. MAURENBRECHER, Morone's Report on the Tridentine Council. 6. SCHULTZE, The Newly-Discovered Tomb of a Christian Gladiator.

Among the most valuable features of this periodical are the comprehensive reviews which it occasionally gives of the entire new literature on some particular period of Church history. The article in the present number, by Prof. Stähelin, himself a distinguished historian, on the recent literature relating to the history of the Swiss Reformation, is a worthy sequel of a number of articles to which attention has been called in former numbers of the Methodist Quarterly Review. The value of this article is all the greater because, as its author says, there is hardly any section in the entire province of the literature of Church history which has been so much neglected as the history of the Swiss Reformation. The last special work in German on the Swiss Reformation was published in 1708, (Hottinger, *Helvetische Kirchengeschichte*, 3 vols.) the last work in French in 1728, (*Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, 1727-1728, 6 vols.) The new editions of both these works give comparatively but few and insignificant additions, and make no use of the ample material which has since been brought to light. The years 1877 and 1878 have largely added to this material, as Prof. Stähelin shows. A brief reference to a few works will give some idea of the strenuous efforts which are made in Switzerland, as well as elsewhere, to obtain from the old archives new light on the age and the history of the Reformation. A Roman Catholic society publishes at Solothurn "Archives for the History of the Swiss Reformation," (*Archiv für die Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte*), the third volume of which appeared in 1876. Though the editors of these archives are, of course, led in their selection of documents by sectarian considerations, some documents of general interest are found in their publications, as the negotiations concerning an alliance between the Catholic Cantons with Austria and Rome.

The archivist of the Canton of Zurich, Strickler, has begun the publication of the official acts of the Federal Diets from 1521 to 1532. The first volume appeared in 1878, and will be followed by three others, which will publish an aggregate of more than eight thousand documents. A work of general interest is a history of the Protestant fugitives from England, France, Spain, Italy, Austria, and Hungary, who found a refuge in Switzerland, (*Geschichte der evangelischen Flüchtlinge in der Schweiz*, 1876,) by Mörikofer. The subject of this work, which has been translated into French by Roux, (1878,) is of general interest for Protestants of all countries, as it is well known how many distinguished men were among those fugitives. Its author, Mörikofer, who died in 1877, is favorably known as the writer of several other excellent works on the same period, as the best biography of Zwingle, (1867-1869, 2 vols.) As might be expected, the literature on Calvin, his life and his teachings, continues to be numerous. Of the excellent work of Hermingard, entitled, *Correspondance des reformateurs dans le pays de langue française*, the fifth volume, containing the years 1538 and 1539, was published in 1878. Most of the documents given in this volume refer to the life of Calvin and his companions during the first year of their exile. They are not all printed in this work for the first time, but the copious notes of the editor shed new light on many points. A considerable amount of entirely new material is found in the complete works of Calvin, published by three professors of the University of Strasburg, Baum, Reuss, and Onnitz, (*Joannis Calvini Opera*), of which four new volumes (the fifteenth to the eighteenth) appeared from 1876 to 1878. They refer to the times from the beginning of 1554 to September, 1561. A new life of Calvin has been published by Hoff, (*Vie de Jean Calvin*, Paris, 1877,) but it is said not to be of great value; on the other hand, the two articles on Calvin which are found in the new edition of the "German Theological Cyclopedia" of Herzog, and in the "French Theological Cyclopedia" of Lichtenberger, are said to be thorough and exhaustive. An essay on Calvin, by Kattenbusch, (*Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*), is especially recommended for its lucid exposition of the inner development of Calvin's doctrine, and of the relation existing between his theology and the theocracy

founded by him. A little book of considerable interest is the publication of the first French Catechism of Calvin, which he compiled in 1536, a few months after his arrival in Geneva, and the Latin text of which he sent, in 1538, immediately before his expulsion, to friendly Churches as a testimony of the doctrines prevailing in Geneva. As this catechism was subsequently suppressed by Calvin on purpose and replaced by a new compilation, it fell into oblivion, and has only recently become known again. The editors of Calvin's complete works have since published the Latin edition, while the first French edition of 1537 has recently been found in the National Library of Paris, and has been published (in 1878) at Geneva by Rilliet and Dufour. It is regarded as probable that the Latin text was the original, and the French the translation. A special work on the ethics of Calvin (*Die Ethik Calvins*, Strasburg, 1877) has been published by P. Lobstein.

The "Documents Relating to the History of the German Reformation," which are published by Schultze, were taken from the archives of Naldes, which, like the archives of many other Italian cities, contain many letters and dispatches on the early history of the Reformation which had never before appeared in print. The Report of Cardinal Morone on the Tridentine Council, which is published by Prof. Maurenbrecher, of Bonn, has been obtained from the library of Prince Altieri, of Rome. The celebrated German historian, Leopold Ranke, in his work on the Roman Popes, calls Morone's Report the most important document on the Tridentine Council. Ranke had read it, but had failed to take a complete copy.

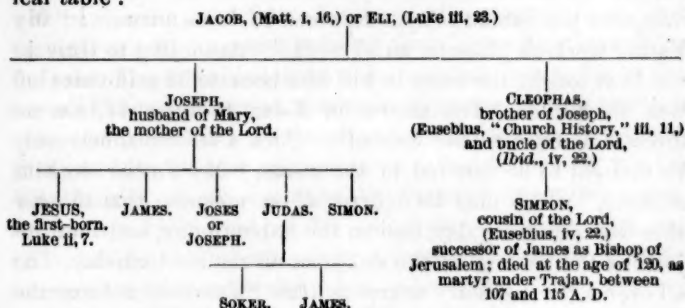
ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.)

Edited by Hilgenfeld. Second Number. 1880. 1. ISRAEL, On Jerome's *Vita S. Hilarionis*. 2. GORRES, The Persecution of Christians at the Time of the Emperors Numerianus and Carinus. 3. HOLTZMANN, St. James the Just and his Namesakes. 4. BONNET, Remarks on the Most Ancient Writings on the Ascension of Mary.

In the January number of the Methodist Quarterly Review we called attention to a remarkable new work published by an Old Catholic theologian, Prof. Friedrich, of Munich, on "The Earliest History of the Primacy in the Church." Prof. Friedrich, after the precedence of several Protestant theologians of Germany, especially Dr. Uhlhorn and Dr. Ritschl, attempted to show that the idea of a primacy was indeed not

unknown in the earliest Church, but that this idea was not connected with the Apostle Peter and the bishops of Rome, but with St. James and the bishops of Jerusalem; that the office of a primate was at first hereditary in the family of Jesus, but that subsequently it remained connected with the episcopal see of Jerusalem, until the catastrophe of A. D. 135 gave to Rome a favorable opportunity to vindicate successfully its claim to be the metropolis of Christendom. In the above article on St. James, Prof. Holtzmann, of the University of Strasburg, declares a partial assent to the theories of Prof. Friedrich concerning the See of Jerusalem, while in some respects he rejects the views of the Old Catholic theologian. Prof. Holtzmann refers to a commentary just published by him to the "Pastoral Letters" (*Die Pastoralbriefe kritisch und exegetisch behandelt*, 1880) for a full exposition of his views regarding the early constitution of the Christian Church. The article in the present number of the "Journal for Scientific Theology" treats particularly on the person of James the Just, the head of the Apostolic Church of Jerusalem, and his relation to the apostles of the same name. It is well known that a large number of treatises have been written to elucidate this relationship, which was pronounced by Dr. Neander to be the most difficult question in the apostolic history. Prof. Holtzmann identifies James, "the brother of the Lord," who is mentioned in Gal. i, 19, and James, the first Bishop of Jerusalem, who was surnamed the Just by the ancients on account of his eminent virtues. He finds, however, that the description of this James, as it is given by some of the early Christian writers, ill accords with the accounts given of him in the Acts; that while the Bible represents him as being on friendly terms with Paul, the Ebionitic party of the early Christian Church described him as leading a life of ascetic strictness, and as held in the highest veneration by the Jews. In the writings of this party James, the bishop, ranks the apostles, and is called archbishop. All the teachers of Christianity among the pagans are said to derive from him their authority, and there is an apparent tendency to clothe him with the authority of a universal bishop of the Church. Dr. Holtzmann further holds that James, the brother of the Lord and first Bishop of Jerusalem, was not one of the twelve apostles, and

was, therefore, not identical with James, the son of Alpheus ; but that the writers of the ancient Church began at an early period to confound James, the son of Alpheus, with James, the brother of the Lord. The relationship which, according to him, existed between Jesus and all the relatives mentioned in the New Testament, is illustrated by him in the following genealogical table :



Soker and James, the sons of Judas, were, according to Eusebius, heads of the Churches in Palestine, probably as assistants of the aged Simeon. Simeon, as head of the Church of Jerusalem, was followed by Justus ; at that time no more relatives of Jesus were alive. The brothers of the Lord who are mentioned in the New Testament are regarded by Holtzmann as children of Joseph and Mary, not as step-brothers or cousins of Jesus. He regrets that so many Protestant theologians appear to have, like Hengstenberg, submitted to the papal dictation which designated the belief in full brothers of the Lord as a crime for which even recantation cannot atone. As praiseworthy exceptions to this tendency he mentions Schaff, Wieseler, Pressensé, ("History of the First Three Centuries,") Hofman, (in his "*Bible-werk*," ) Grau, (*Entwicklungsgeschichte*,) Laurent, and Gustav Plitt.

**THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN.** (Theological Essays and Reviews.) *Essays* : 1. HACKENSCHMIDT, The Teaching of the Lutheran Theologian, John Musaeus, concerning the Visibility of the Church. 2. KLEINERT, Practical Theology, (First Article.) *Thoughts and Remarks* : 1. SEIDEMANN, Luther and Bishop John VII. of Meissen. 2. BERTLING, A Transposition in the Gospel of John. *Reviews* : 1. GESS, Christ's Person and Work; reviewed by REIFF. 2. KOFFMANN, History of Church Latin, edited by LUDWIG.

Dr. Bertling believes that, by the mistake of a copyist, the passage John vii, 19-24 has been put in a wrong place ; that



originally it was part of the fifth chapter of John, following immediately after verse 16, and that it should be restored to its original place. We give his remarks in a somewhat condensed form :

In John v, 1-15, the healing of the sick man at the pool of Bethesda is related. According to verse 16 the Jews persecuted Jesus and sought to slay him because he had done these things on the Sabbath-day. In verse 17 Jesus answers : " My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." According to verse 18 the Jews sought the more to kill him because he said that God was his Father. The answer of Jesus, in verse 17, has no direct reference to the Sabbath. Such a reference may only be thought to be implied in the words, " My Father worketh *hitherto*," which may be understood as meaning that the Father worketh every day, also on the Sabbath-day, and that this justifies the healing of the sick man on the Sabbath-day. At all events the necessary reference to the Sabbath is not expressly made, but must be supplied by conjecture. Now, it is noteworthy that an explicit reference of this kind does find itself in John vii, 19-24, and that in the latter place it seems to break the connection. A transposition of these verses from the seventh chapter of John to the fifth chapter, inserting them between verses 16 and 17, would give us in both chapters the most natural connection. If this transposition is made, Jesus answers the charge that, in healing the sick man, he broke the Sabbath by referring the Jews to the fact that in cases of circumcision they all transgress the law. The Jews, therefore, are admonished, (vii, 24 :) " Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment," and the healing of the sick man, like circumcision, is represented as an act of justification and redemption which is not only allowed on the Sabbath, but necessary. The transposition facilitates the understanding of John v, 17 ; the miraculous healing of a sick man being a remarkable manifestation of the uninterrupted (" hitherto ") working of the Father, and, therefore, a proof that such an act performed on the Sabbath-day is no crime, but divine worship. The transfer of vii, 19-24, will also greatly improve the connection between the remaining parts of this chapter, (verses 1-18, and 25 to the end of chapter.) Chapter vii relates that Jesus went somewhat later to the feast of the Tabernacles

than the others. About the midst of the feast Jesus went up into the temple and taught. Some of the Jews "marveled at his words," inquiring how "this man knew letters, having never learned." Jesus answered that indeed his teaching was not human wisdom—not any thing contrived by man—but that it came from God, and was a divine testimony for every earnest inquirer. The men who speak of themselves seek their own glory, but if one seeks only the glory of God, then the hearers may be convinced that there is no unrighteousness in him. The transition from this assertion (verse 18) to the law of Moses concerning circumcision (verse 19) appears not to be very obvious. On the other hand, by transposing verses 19 to 24 from chapter vii to chapter v, and connecting vii, 18, directly with vii, 25, the transition becomes entirely natural. It appears both from vii, 15, and from vii, 25–27, that the hearers of Jesus were wavering, and could not make up their minds as to what to think of him. Therefore it also appears entirely natural that the powerful argument for the divine origin of the teaching of Jesus (in verse 18) should be followed (in verse 25) by the marveling inquiry "of some of them of Jerusalem," "Is not this he whom they seek to kill?"

In conclusion, the author frankly admits that there is one serious objection to his argumentation. All the ancient manuscripts and translations agree in giving the verses referred to in the very place where they are found in our present Bible. The simplest way to explain this fact is, in his opinion, to assume that in the earliest times, when there was as yet only one copy of this Gospel, one entire leaf, containing verses 19–24, was misplaced while being copied.

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#### *French Reviews.*

REVUE CHRETIENNE. (Christian Review.) December, 1879. 1. COUSSIRAT, Henry Ward Beecher. 2. BONET-MAURY, The Friends of God in the Fourteenth Century. 2. ALONE, Too Probable Not To Be True, (A Novel.) 4. PRESSENSE, The Free Synod and the New Projects of Conciliation in the Reformed State Church of France. January, 1880.—1. FEER, The Religion of Aryan India in Vedic Times. 2. ASTIE, The Correspondence of Doudan. 3. IRMA S., A History which Begins with a Marriage. February, 1880.—1. NAVILLE, Religion. 2. ASTIE, The Correspondence of Doudan. 3. The Life to Come, Shall We Recognize Each Other?

The "Christian Review," which began, on January 1, 1880, the twenty-sixth year of its existence, will be conducted

during the coming year according to the former plan. The bi-monthly articles on German and English affairs which have graced the pages of the *Review* for several years, and which are excellent specimens of "Foreign Religious" and "Foreign Literary Intelligence," will be continued during the coming year. The articles on German affairs are by E. Lichtenberger. The monthly reviews of French affairs will, as in former years, be alternately supplied by Pressensé and Sabatier. Articles are announced as forthcoming in the course of 1880 from Pressensé, Bersier, Naville, Godet, Astié, Father Hyacinthe, (on Paganism in Paris, formerly and at present,) and others.

#### ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

**MOHAMMEDANISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN TURKEY AND THE NEW BALKAN STATES.**—The treaty of Berlin, as was expected, has greatly changed the religious aspect of the Turkish empire and the neighboring States. Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro have been generally recognized as independent States, and thus a considerable portion of the Balkan peninsula again finds itself under Christian rule. Bulgaria remains nominally a dependency of Turkey, but, virtually, it is likewise an independent Christian State. Even East Roumelia is really made a new Christian State, as it has its own Parliament, under a governor who must be a Christian, and whose appointment must be confirmed by the Christian powers. Besides, Bosnia and Herzegovina have been placed under the administration of Austria, and they can never be replaced under the direct rule of Turkey, but must become either a part of the Austrian Empire or States virtually or really independent, like the other new States just referred to. In consequence of these changes the rule of a Mohammedan government over large territories and a population of several million Christians has ceased, and a considerable number of Mohammedans have now become subjects of Christian governments.

The following table, which gives the total population of each of these States, together with the Mohammedan population and the population connected with the Greek Church, will illustrate the magnitude of the changes which have taken place in the religious aspect of these countries:

Countries.	Total population.	Mohammedans.	Population connected with the Greek Church.
Bosnia and Herzegovina.....	1,212,000	442,000	571,000
Roumania.....	5,376,000	120,000	4,700,000
Servia.....	1,577,000	75,000	1,487,000
Montenegro.....	286,000	25,000	236,000
Bulgaria.....	1,860,000	600,000	1,260,000
Eastern Roumelia.....	751,000	350,000	375,000
Turkey, (except Bosnia, Herzegovina, Bulgaria, and Eastern Roumelia.)	42,000,000	34,000,000	3,425,000

All the above States, with the exception of part of Montenegro, were, until 1878, subject to the rule of the Sultan. In consequence of the treaty of Berlin the Sultan's authority over a population of nearly 11,000,000 has been wholly, or at least, virtually, destroyed. Of this population about 1,600,000 are Mohammedans, who will now be distributed among six different Christian States. They form a minority in each of these States, except in Eastern Roumelia, where they constitute about one half of the total population. The immense majority of these Mohammedans do not belong to the Turkish race, but are descendants of Slavs, who were induced by the prospect of worldly advantages and privileges to embrace Mohammedanism. They still speak the language of the Slavic tribes to which they belong, and the consciousness of a common nationality cannot fail to exert upon them, in the course of time, a strong influence. The national feeling makes itself so strongly felt in all the Slavic countries that it will certainly attract many of the young Mohammedans; and it must, of course, be expected that in proportion as the Mohammedan Slavs begin to feel a more intense interest in the aspirations of their race, their connection with the Islam will be weakened. All the six Christian States of which these Mohammedans are subjects have to make provision for the religious worship of the Mohammedans; and as all of them have a constitutional form of government, it will be a matter of considerable interest to watch the development of the Church government of the Mohammedans in these States.

There is as yet no indication that the decay of the Mohammedan power in Turkey, which has for centuries been on the increase, has received any check. On the contrary, other territorial losses will certainly occur ere long, and a general dissolution becomes more and more probable. Turkey has bound itself by the Berlin Treaty to cede a part of its territory to Greece, and the execution of this part of the treaty has thus far been only delayed by the disagreement of the Greek and Turkish commissioners. In Candia and the smaller islands the Mohammedan element of population is so weak, and the desire of the majority of the population who belong to the Greek nationality for annexation to Greece is so strong, that a reunion with the kingdom of Greece appears to be very probable. In Asia, as the British ambassador, in 1879, told the government of Constantinople, the failure of the Turkish government to carry out the reforms promised in the separate treaty between England and Turkey, has stimulated among the Armenians, and also among the other Christian nationalities of the Asiatic dominions of Turkey, aspirations for an autonomy similar to that of Bulgaria and East Roumelia, in Europe. By the pressure brought upon him by England, the Sultan has finally been forced to intrust to an Englishman the task of reconstructing the administration in the Asiatic provinces. The financial condition of this empire is so wretched, and the inability of most of the Mohammedan statesmen to effect any lasting reforms so palpable, that even the chief representatives of the religious interests of Mohammedanism, the ulemas,

urged, in 1879, upon their government the appointment of able financiers of Christian Europe to assume the control of the Turkish finances.

Turkey is the only country in Europe the population statistics of which are little known. The statements both of the total population and the religious statistics have hitherto greatly varied; only of late greater care has been taken to obtain reliable figures. In view of the probability that the disintegration of Turkey will go on, the following religious statistics of the vilayets or provinces of European Turkey, which are given by M. Jakshitch, the head of the statistical bureau in Belgrade, Servia, will be found of interest:

Vilayets or Provinces.	Christians.	Mohammedans.	Jews.	Total.
1. Constantinople (City).....	121,267	183,540	22,943	327,750
2. Adrianople.....	451,612	273,464	13,492	738,568
3. Salonica.....	419,116	380,974	7,409	807,499
4. Monastir.....	315,521	347,286	2,566	665,373
5. Kossowo.....	288,483	341,548	1,323	631,354
6. Scutari.....	90,255	77,779	.....	168,004
7. Janina.....	533,574	238,812	4,085	766,471
8. Candia.....	234,213	37,840	3,300	275,253
9. Islands, (Thasos, Imbros, } Samothrake, Lemnos) } ..	40,490	1,884	.....	42,374
Total of immediate possession....	2,484,501	1,883,127	55,018	4,422,646

The table shows that in none of the vilayets the Mohammedans constitute a large majority, and that in several they even are very largely in the minority. The Christians generally would prefer incorporation with one of the Christian Balkan States, and the weakness of the Mohammedans makes it highly probable that a partition of at least European Turkey between the Christian races of the Balkan peninsula is highly probable. In Asiatic Turkey Mohammedanism is, numerically, much stronger. The Mohammedans constitute the large majority of the population, numbering about twelve and a half millions of a total population of sixteen and a half millions. But here, also, Turkey is threatened with great losses in the future. The difference of race makes itself felt in Asia also. Of the Mohammedans only 6,000,000 are Turks, the remainder belong to other races. The Christians, about 2,800,000, constitute a considerable majority in several districts. They have begun to aspire after political independence, or at least autonomy; and if ever they should secure the acquiescence of both Russia and England the Turks will be entirely unable to resist their demands for independence. Another very remarkable fact in regard to the future of Asiatic Turkey is the very rapid advance of the Greek population all along the coast. Almost the entire commerce of the large cities is in the hands of Greeks, Armenians, and other Christians. The Turks feel their inability to compete with the Christians, and more and more fall back from the coast to the interior. In Africa, Egypt has, of late, grown so rapidly that it now has a territory larger than the entire immediate possessions of the Sultan, with a population about equal to that of Asiatic Turkey. The authority of the Sultan in the African dependencies is not much greater than it is in Bulgaria. It must necessarily come to an end if the power of Turkey is still further reduced in Europe and Asia.



As Mohammedanism continues to decline, the power and influence of the Greek Church, or, as it calls itself, the Orthodox Eastern Church, are looming up. A few years ago this Church had among the independent governments of the earth only two representatives, Russia and Greece, leaving out Montenegro, which was a little principality of only 120,000 inhabitants, and the independence of which was not recognized by Turkey. Now there are four other States in which the Greek Church will predominate—Servia, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Eastern Roumelia. The latter is likely to be, ere long, united with Bulgaria. Every further loss of Turkey will add to the territory, population, and power of these States; and in the history of the Christian Church the Greek Church must, therefore, occupy henceforth a more prominent place than in the past.

This growth will, however, greatly change the inner constitution of the Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople still is, and probably will remain for a long time to come, the most prominent bishop of the entire communion; but the Churches of Russia, Austria, Greece, Servia, Roumania, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and the Churches of the Bulgarian nationality in East Roumelia, have made themselves entirely independent of his jurisdiction. Therefore, although the honorary pre-eminence of the See of Constantinople continues, the direct jurisdiction of the Patriarch has become limited to the Christians of Greek nationality living under Turkish rule. The progressing consolidation of the Bulgarian nationality, and the prospective annexation of large districts of the European part of Turkey to Greece, are likely very soon to reduce this jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople to still narrower limits.

As the Greek Church of Bosnia and Herzegovina is of the same (Servian) nationality as a large portion of that Church in Austria-Hungary, the Austrian government is intent upon establishing the closest union between these two Churches. It is estimated that in Austria-Hungary there is a population of about 3,100,000 which belongs to the Servian nationality. If to this number the Servians of Bosnia and Herzegovina are added, the number of Servians who are under the rule of the Emperor of Austria rises to more than 4,300,000, a number exceeding that of all Servians outside of the Austrian dominions. The establishment of a strong, consolidated Servian Church within the boundaries of Austria appears, therefore, to many of the leading statesmen of Austria as a matter of grave political importance for the future of the Empire. The Churches of Bosnia and Herzegovina were, until the treaty of Berlin, under the Patriarch of Constantinople. Nearly all the bishops appointed by the Patriarch were Greeks, who did not understand the Servian language, and had no sympathy with the national aspirations of the Servians. The latter, therefore, were greatly dissatisfied with their Greek bishops. This feeling was fostered by Austria after it had obtained possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The history of the past relations between the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Servian nationality was referred to, to prove that any jurisdiction of Constantinople over Servia was a usurpation. At the time when Servia was a

powerful kingdom it had a Patriarch of its own at Ipek, whose independence was recognized by the Patriarch of Constantinople. Subsequently a large number of Servians, including the Patriarch of Ipek, emigrated to and settled upon Austrian territory; and in the course of time the Austrian Government deemed it good policy to establish within its own borders a Servian patriarchate at Carlovitz, which claims to be the heir and legitimate successor of the patriarchate of Ipek. The proposition to place all the Churches of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Patriarchate of Carlovitz appears, therefore, to be quite natural, and a measure of this kind would have the great political advantage of promoting the permanent political union of these provinces with Austria. At the end of November, 1879, the Patriarch of Carlovitz and the Bishops of Ofen and Neusalz were summoned to Vienna and Pesth to be consulted on this subject by the Governments of Austria proper and Hungary.

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#### ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

##### *Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

*The Advent of Christ*; An Elucidation of the great Prophecy of our Lord, with special Reference to the Question, Whether Christ will make his Appearing before or after his Millennial Kingdom, together with an Answer to the Question, Did the Apostles expect the Advent of Christ in their own Day? By FRANZ L. NAGLER. 24mo., pp. 222. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

We have given above a translation of the title of a small book written in the Germanic dialect of our great Teutonic speech. Mr. Nagler avows that he once believed, but has now renounced, the doctrine of a premillennial advent. And as he indorses largely, but in a perfectly independent spirit and with some acute criticisms, many of the views which we have put forth distinctively from all other commentators, giving us full and frank credit, our hope is that our commentary, when fully completed, will prove a future safeguard for our people against those periodical fits of expecting the immediate advent which have proved so great a detriment to religion.

Full of mischiefs especially have been the interpretations of the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, both by English commentators, as Whitby and Clarke, and German commentators, such as Stier and Lange. Both have violated the fundamental principles of exegesis in misconstruing that chapter, and have made it pregnant with infidelity and heresy. Modern Universalism was born of the allegorizing of that chapter.

The readers of our commentary on Matt. xxiv and xxv are aware that we hold the phrase "these things," in the disciples'

questions and the Lord's answer, as designating the temporal troubles of the downfall of Jerusalem and the Jews, and thereby marking a clear distinction throughout between that downfall and the second advent. Mr. Nagler endeavors, in divers sharp ways, to spoil this our nice fix. He quotes Mark, and he might have quoted Luke, as giving the question, not about the "coming," but about "these things" solely, asking what should be "the sign" of their completion. That is, as we interpret, they furnish the question *only about the troubles*, and not about the advent. Matthew, on the other hand, furnishes the question about "the sign" of the advent alone; yet he really gives "the sign" (xxiv, 15) of the crisis when they shall take their flight from the city's destruction. Our conclusion, then, is, that each evangelist makes an omission. Matthew omits the word "sign" in reference to the destruction, Mark and Luke omit the inquiry as to the advent. "These things," therefore, is still without contradiction, limited to the temporal troubles.

Again, Mr. Nagler quotes Luke xxi, 28, "When *these things* begin to come to pass, lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh," and questions whether the city's destruction furnished any such ground of jubilation. We understand our Lord as bidding them not hang their heads in fear and despondency as Jews bound to destruction, but to lift up their brows at the moment of their deliverance from both the despotism and doom of Jerusalem and Judaism, and their escape to their refuge in Pella.

But Mr. Nagler thinks our limitation of "these things" to the troubles is contradicted by Luke xxi, 36, "Watch ye, therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape *all these things* that shall come to pass and to stand before the Son of Man." A proper paraphrase of Luke xxi, 36, we think, would be: Watch and pray, that you, my disciples, may escape *all these* tribulations through which you will be called to pass without apoetasy, and may stand uncondemned before Christ's judgment bar. Compare Matt. xxiv, 13.

To those who doubt whether so relative a phrase as *these things* should have so substantive a meaning as our interpretation assumes, we suggest: 1. This phrase, as applied to predicted events, occurs in the three reports of these discourses no less than seventeen times, and must have been actually spoken eight times. The fact that all three evangelists report the phrase with such unanimity implies their strong impression of its prominence; and the fact of its repeated use by our Lord implies a definite and

substantial import. 2. In all these eight instances at least five clearly designate the troubles of the Jews, and not the second advent. First, in the question of the disciples, as given by Matthew, there is an obvious antithesis between *these things* and *coming*. That this antithesis is real is demonstrated by the repetition of the antithesis in the answer, "*these things* (so Luke) must be, but the end is not yet." Here even Mr. Nagler will admit that *these things* and *end*, the troubles and the advent, are opposites, and exclude each other. Second, (Matt. xxiv, 8,) "*All these* are the beginning of sorrows," where, clearly, the troubles are meant. Third, (Luke xxi, 12,) Before *all these things*; where *these things* refers to the earthquakes and commotions of the previous verse; and so must designate the troubles, and not the advent. Fourth, (Luke xxi, 36,) "Ye may escape all these things, and stand before the Son of man;" where *these things* are first to be escaped before and antithetical to the advent. Fifth, (Matt. xxiii, 36,) "All these things," namely, the temporal punishments for their ancestral sins, "shall come upon this generation." Now these five cases inductively prove that the other three cases must have this meaning, if they will possibly bear it. And then the *sixth*, (Luke xxi, 28,) "When these things shall begin to come to pass," and, seventh, (verse 31,) applying the parable of the fig-tree, "When ye see these things come to pass," must not refer to the advent, because that event was not, like the blossom of the fig-tree, a gradually appearing process, but a sudden and unwarned event, "like a thief in the night." We think, then, we fairly prove that seven of the eight cases refer to the temporal troubles, and, therefore, so must the eighth; namely, Matt. xxiv, 34, "Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away until *all these things* be fulfilled." This celebrated passage does not declare that the advent should take place in that generation, but that the troubles should. And if this argument is valid, our interpretation of that discourse must stand uninvalidated.

We still decline a solution of the difficulties of this discourse by a false definition of "generation." For, 1. The meaning *race* is without, or nearly without, precedent. Delitzsch is indeed quoted as having found a few instances in the Septuagint; but that, if true, does not justify our rejecting its sense in all other Greek literature and fixing it here. 2. Our admission, quoted by Mr. Nagler, that the word in Luke xii, 8 means "kind, class, species," means only "kind, class, species," viewed contemporaneously, not as in a line of descent through time. 3. Even were the meaning

"race" admissible the parallel passage, (xxiii, 36,) "Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation," decides that a contemporaneous generation is meant. The antithesis is between the sins of previous generations and the concentrated penalty upon "this generation." 4. The meaning "race" gives an inane sense to the words. The meaning, then, is, The Jewish race shall not pass away until the destruction of Jerusalem and the judgment-day are completed! That perverts the passage from telling how soon "these things" shall take place, answering the question "when," to telling us how long the Jewish race shall endure. We may add that, according to Robinson's "New Testament Lexicon," a generation was, Hebraically, understood to include a hundred years, so that the destruction of the city would be included within the period.

We cordially commend the work of Mr. Nagler, especially to the attention of our German brethren, who bring from the dear old "Fatherland" some dreamy Chiliastic theories, which the free, fresh air of our America should blow away.

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*Faith and Character.* By MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

It is long since we opened a volume of sermons so real and wholesome as these. Many pulpit utterances are pervaded by an air of unreality such that the hearers find nothing in them which touches upon their own duties or experience. The terms are conventional and meaningless, or the statements are strained until they become false. In fact, we would not expose a thoughtful child to the utterances of many pulpits whereof we know, for any consideration, because of the artificial and unreal nature of the ministrations. The pulpit in general has not yet got fully clear of the notion that the aim of Christ is to get men into a physical paradise, instead of saving them from sin and sinning. The Universalist pulpit of the last generation was almost entirely possessed with the notion that hell is the only thing to be dreaded. Dr. Vincent has a more Christian conception. Holy character is made the great aim of life; and each sermon deals either with the relations and bearings of character, or with the principle of faith in the unseen as its only permanent basis. The right of God to our lives, and the power of Christ to save and sanctify all who will accept him, are dwelt upon and emphasized in the most earnest and tender manner. The piety of our time needs nothing more than to learn the Christian way



of looking at our earthly life. It is not a prison, not an exile, not an accident, but a divine order in which God gives himself to us for our discipline and development. The daily duty, the dreary routine, the unhonored lot—all these express the divine will concerning us; and by accepting them as such we can exalt and glorify them by our faithfulness and courage and honor. Christ redeems the present life no less than the future, and reconciles us to it. We commend the work in hand as a help to the realization of this thought.

B.

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*Commentary on the New Testament.* Intended for Popular Use. By D. D. WHELDON, LL.D. Vol. V. Titus-Revelation. 12mo., pp. 483. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

We have some hope that about the time this Quarterly is in the hands of its readers the fifth and last volume of our Commentary on the New Testament will be upon the salesman's counter. In the slender train of our life's history, our readers will excuse us for saying, this completion is an epoch. Gratitude to a gracious Providence that has spared and strengthened us to this end, gladness that it is beyond contingency, solemnity as if at the loss of a dear friend who has vacated his place, are very natural and excusable feelings. The favor with which the work has been received has cheered us in the labor. And we shall be greatly disappointed if our closing volume be not as favorably received as either of its predecessors, and the closing book, the apocalypse, as favorably as any book we have touched in the canon.

Not much later we hope our publishers will be able to furnish forth two more of the volumes of the Old Testament Commentary. The one is by Drs. Burr, Hunter, and Hyde; and the other, on the Psalms, by Dr. Hibbard. We doubt not that both these books will be highly acceptable to the Church. We much regret that, by circumstances beyond our own control, the Old Testament series has been so long delayed. We did expect, at the last General Conference, that the close of the present quadrennium would see the entire work, both Old Testament and New, completed. We can only now say that it is only delayed, not abandoned.

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*The Doctrine of Man.* The Seventh Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By JOHN LAIDLAW, M.A., Minister of Free West Church, Aberdeen. 8vo., pp. 397. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879.

This work consists of six lectures, delivered in 1878 at the Free Church College of Edinburgh. They discuss the idea of Man as presented in the Bible, with ample erudition, ancient and modern,

with no little insight, and in a fresh and copious style. The development of the subject opens a series of important and interesting topics, discussed in a vigorous spirit, if not always with a satisfactory result. Lecture First analyzes the biblical account of man's creation, in which the two narratives of man's creation, given in Genesis, are critically examined and pronounced to be varying, yet consistent, and supplementing each other. This is compared with the evolutionary theories, the evidences of which, together with those adduced in behalf of pre-Adamic man, are pronounced to be, as yet, insufficient. Lecture Second examines the nature of man as biblically presented, introducing an ample discussion of the trinality of man's constitution. Lecture Third inquires into the import of the divine image in which man was created, with a discussion of the true nature of man unfallen. Lecture Fifth contemplates man as fallen, and Sixth the psychologic nature of the new life, which brings up the nature of regeneration and sanctification. Lecture Sixth surveys man's future destiny, including his immortality and resurrection. There are many points on which we differ with the author in his conclusions. His theology is, of course, Calvinistic. We do not think his views of the threefoldness of man's constitution to be clear or conclusive. His doctrine of man's future affirms a "resurrection" verbally only, and really maintains not a *resurrection* of the body, but a substitution of a new body. Yet his volume is well worth the attention of the theological student.

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*The Typology of Scripture.* Viewed in Connection with the whole Series of the Divine Dispensations. By PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, D.D. 8vo., vol. i, pp. 420; vol. ii, pp. 484. New York: N. Tibbals & Sons.

For the biblical student, specially interested in the study of the Old Testament and its relations to the New, these volumes are of priceless value. Dr. Fairbairn was a fresh and penetrative thinker—modern without being revolutionary, and rational without being rationalistic. The types of Scripture in former times had been handled in a most wild and lawless spirit. With a fine mastery of the erudition of the subject, and a clear insight into its principles, he traced the laws by which types are regulated, and drew out the true methods of interpretation with great truth and beauty. The result greatly elucidates the connection between the two great volumes of Revelation. The two divine dispensations are revealed as one great whole, and the two testaments appear as one great organic Book. Let our theological scholars master the contents of this biblical master-piece.

*Studies on the Baptismal Question ; Including a Review of Dr. Dale's "Inquiry into the Usage of Baptizo."* By Rev. DAVID B. FORD. 8vo. Pp. 416. Boston: H. A. Young & Co. New York: Ward & Drummond. 1879.

Mr. Ford's book is a learned and able reply to Dr. Dale's very elaborate discussion of the mode of baptism. Nearly every theological student, in some part of his career, desires to investigate this subject; and when he has finished his research, is very apt to wish a relief from the subject ever after. We have no doubt that, on scripture grounds, the proofs of uniform immersion are an entire failure, and that affusion alone represents that outpouring of the Spirit which baptism is intended to symbolize.

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*Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

*Natural Science and Religion: Two Lectures delivered to the Theological School of Yale College.* By ASA GRAY. 12mo, pp. 111. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

The distinguished Harvard professor, in view of the proofs afforded to his mind in his department of Botany, early accepted the doctrines of Darwin. He so did, notwithstanding his orthodox religious views, holding, as he does, the reality of revelation, and the incarnation, and the truth of the Apostolic and Nicene creeds. The religious inquirer into the genuineness of the new announcements of science very naturally turns to him with full confidence that he does not, like a Huxley or a Haeckel, readily incline to make science the pretext for irreligious skepticism. We have, then, in these lectures not a disproof of genetic derivationism, but a presentation of the method by which a Christian scientist reconciles his views of derivationism with his views of the Bible. How can a Darwinist be a consistent believer in orthodox Christianity?

On the Mosaic account of man's creation the professor gives only the following touch: "Man, in short, is a partaker of the natural as well as of the spiritual. And the evolutionist may say with the apostle, 'Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual.' Man, 'formed of the dust of the ground,' endowed with 'the breath of life,' 'became a living soul.' Is there any warrant for affirming that these processes were instantaneous?" This about coincides with a brief reconciliation of the two views given by us soon after the publication of Mr. Darwin's first book, in which we concluded that if the same assumption in regard to time were

made in our interpretation of Gen. ii, 7, as is usually adopted in the cosmogony of the first chapter, the reconciliation would not be difficult. The cosmogony is an extended development; why not the anthropology?

Toward "the Scriptures" Prof. Gray is reverent and loyal in spirit. But his maxim rather is "the Bible contains the word of God," than "the Bible is the word of God." Of the Mosaic books, he says: "When fundamental principles of the cosmogony in Genesis are found to coincide with established facts and probable inferences, the coincidence has its value; and wherever the particulars are incongruous, the discrepancy does not distress us; I may add, does not concern us. I trust that the veneration rightly due to the Old Testament is not impaired by the ascertaining that the Mosaic is not an original but a compiled cosmogony. Its glory is, that while its materials were the earlier property of the race, they were in this record purged of polytheism and Nature-worship, and impregnated with ideas which we suppose the world will never outgrow. For its fundamental note is, the declaration of one God, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things, visible and invisible—a declaration which, if physical science is unable to establish, it is equally unable to overthrow." And again: "I suppose that the Old Testament carried the earlier revelation and the germs of Christianity, as the apostles carried the treasures of the gospel, in earthen vessels. I trust it is reverent, I am confident it is safe and wise, to consider that revelation in its essence concerns things moral and spiritual; and that the knowledge of God's character and will which has descended from the fountain-head in the earlier ages has come down to us, through annalists and prophets and psalmists, in a mingled stream, more or less tinged or rendered turbid by the earthly channels through which it has worn its way. The stream brings down precious gold, and so may be called a golden stream; but the water—the vehicle of transportation—is not gold. Moreover, the analogy of our inquiry into design in Nature may teach us that we may be unable always accurately to sift out the gold from the earthly sediment."—P. 107.

While Prof. Gray usually talks like a hearty Darwinian, a single page seems to class him with Mivart, whose name, we believe, he never mentions. Thus he says, on page 76: "While I see how variations of a given organ or structure can be led on to great modification, *I cannot conceive how non-existent organs come thus to be*, how wholly new parts are initiated, how any thing can

be led on which is not there to be taken hold of. Nor am I at all helped in this respect by being shown that the new organs are developed little by little."

If we rightly understand Professor Gray, he maintains that at the bottom the distinction between the animal and vegetable kingdoms not only is concealed, but that it has no existence. At base they are not only apparently, but really, one. Now to our philosophy, if not to our science, not claiming any science, it does seem that such a statement cannot possibly be true. The difference, we venture to imagine, between an animal and a vegetable is the difference between *mind* and *no mind*; between a certain *something* and *nothing*. An animal, however low in grade, has at any rate the lowest grade of mind, a minimum of sensation. And that minimum, according to a distinction elsewhere wittily and wisely made by the professor, "though very little, is very important." It is a minimum in a new direction; toward intelligence, wisdom, omniscience. It belongs to the infinite world of mind, and not to the finite world of matter. Where that minimum begins physics may be unable to tell us, but has no right to tell us that it has no beginning at all. As between the vegetable and mineral the great distinction is life or no life, so the distinction between animal and vegetable is sense or no sense. Life may interfuse with inorganic matter, and form an ocean of "bathybius," but, destitute both of mind and organism, it is below the humblest vegetable. And then the so-called "sensitive plant," lying upon your warm palm, may mimic a crawling creature, yet be no more *living* than the snow-flake that melts upon that same palm. The vegetable fly-trap may catch its victim ever so expertly, and we may wonder at the design that formed so funny a *usus nature*; but it no more invades the field of animal life than does the still-spring mouse-trap. It seems to us wonderful that our scientists should so often entrap themselves by making the word *life* embrace the idea of *mind*, fallaciously holding psychology to be but a department of biology, which is nothing more than the vicious tendency first started by Comte to eliminate mind from the world, and leave us nothing but brain and nerve.

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*Communism and Socialism in their History and Theory.* A Sketch by THEODORE D. WOOLSEY. 12mo., pp. 309. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

Will the time come, some fifty years hence, when the name of Dennis Kearney will be embalmed in eulogistic biography by some future Oliver Johnson? Will the volume that furnishes



those "sketches of the" agrarian "movement in America, and of the man who was its founder and moral leader," sail with colors flying on the smooth tide of popular approbation when, through revolution and bloodshed, an equalization of human conditions shall be attained? Mr. Johnson professedly rings out his denunciations of the ministry and Church in order to furnish a warning for the future, teaching the Church to lead in the van of all reformatory revolutions. Very well. Must we, then, put ourselves under the guidance of Mr. K., just as we did not under Mr. G.? We think there can be no doubt that Mr. K. is quite the equal of Mr. G. in sincerity, in heroism, in his earnest sense of real wrongs, and, saving some profanity, charged, perhaps truly, by his enemies, as moderate in his spirit and language. That the social wrongs of which Mr. Kearney complains are real and terrible, though there are few that now take the pains or the courage to say or describe, there cannot be a doubt. How much more tyrannical were the plantation lords of 1830 than the railroad kings of 1880? Into how much deeper degradation were the enslaved negroes of that day depressed by the slave-whipping oligarch than are our city slums and all the children of ignorance, penury, and sin, by our money oligarchs? What serf was ever obliged by the whip to walk more strait to his task than the factory or shop-hand by the fear of starvation to his work? And now that the apostle of immediate agrarianization has arisen, he is treated just as the apostle of immediate emancipation was before him. All classes are just as solid against him. Politicians of all parties, editors of all newspapers, merchant princes, and railroad kings, are all unanimously hostile. And as for the Church!—out upon her. She is madly slighting Oliver Johnson's warning to jump under the banner of the next wild-cat reformer that turns up! Her laity are corrupted by the money-power, and her ministers are "dumb dogs that will not bark." O! if the Church were only right, Kearneyism would in a moment be supreme! The Church is the bulwark of plutocracy! The Church is the prop of Mammonism. If every pulpit, every Church, would as one man turn about and adopt *immediate agrarianization*, the money-power would be overthrown, all the laws of property would be reconstructed, every man would be as poor and as rich as every other man, and the Five Points would be equal to the Fifth Avenue. And where is Oliver Johnson himself? Does he take his own warning? Is he lending his vigorous pen to the service of Kearney? Or has he, too, be-

come conservative? We hear not his voice in the new reform, and fear that he is temporizing. We fear that he is saying to himself that the evils of which Mr. Kearney complains are too inextricably interwoven into the present system of society to be removed by an "immediate" shock; that organic evils must be gradually removed by patient effort, by providential development, and by advancing time; that it is a delicate question that is involved, and that, however great the evil existing, the mode of its "immediate" removal is not clear to human ken; that the laws of property and the inequalities of human condition are clearly recognized in the Scriptures; that Mr. Kearney is not a wise leader, his party are not sound men, and that bloodshed and anarchy would result from pressing his principles and measures. Alas! Mr. J., if he thus reasons, is clearly apostatizing. He is an apologist for plutocracy. He is just as bad as Lyman Beecher, Wilbur Fisk, and Leonard Bacon. He ought to proclaim that all plutocracy is sin, and must be "immediately" abandoned. He must allow no "gradual" reforms. He is reasoning just as the earlier opponents of Garrison reasoned, and as men of sound brain and good common sense must ever reason; but that class of men Mr. Johnson holds up to all sorts of contempt in his preposterous biography of his fetish.

Contemplated from the stand-point of a rational humanity, Dr. Woolsey's subject is of momentous importance. Communism has a past history, as here presented, full of wiser warnings than the Garrisonian biographer is able to furnish. Dr. Woolsey analyzes the principles upon which Communism is based, the forces it has at command, and the probability of its triumph. We earnestly commend the book to the earnest study of humanitarian thinkers.

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*The Emotions.* By JAS. McCOSH, D.D., LL.D. N. Y. : Chas. Scribner's Sons. 1880.

English philosophic, indeed, we might say all philosophic, literature has been relatively barren of treatises on the emotions or sensibilities. This deficiency arises largely from the nature of the subject itself. The cognitive powers admit of easy discrimination and of tolerably exact statement; but it is a peculiarity of feeling that it cannot be expressed in any formula, but must be realized in an experience. A simply cognitive, or thinking, being would never be able to understand an emotion; for the categories of pure thought afford no medium for its expression. Again, the variety of feelings and of shades of feeling is so great as almost to defy any attempt at classification beyond

the most vague and worthless. And the classifications which are possible are descriptive only, and afford us no insight into the genesis of our feelings, and no new power over them. In the realm of pure thought, on the other hand, there is a certain inner connection of reason, so that we not only see how, but why. The emotions partake of the nature of life. It is in the emotions that the value and beauty and significance of life are found; but, like life, they cannot be understood—they can only be lived.

There is, then, a wide place for Dr. McCosh's work. The field is large, and the laborers few. All the more important is it, therefore, that the work be well done. And here we must say, that, thankful as we are for what we have got, the work is disappointing. It is mainly descriptive, and is written throughout in a popular rather than in a philosophical style. It gives a very pleasant account of the various emotions, and the average thinker will ask for nothing more. But the divisions are very general, and even cross each other in a way which scandalizes the critic. The work is, perhaps, to be recommended for the general reader and the practical man, rather than for the philosophical student of the emotions. One point we miss entirely—the significance of feeling for the mental life. The doctor insists that the idea must precede the feeling; but there is a large realm in which feeling fashions the idea. On this account many of the Germans have made the sensibility more fundamental than the intellect, and have made the latter purely instrumental to the former! This is the meaning of their claim, that logic and metaphysics must be founded on æsthetics. And very much can be said for this claim from the side both of psychology and of speculation. These deeper questions we had hoped to find discussed in the present work, but have been disappointed. Perhaps the doctor would demur to this criticism on the ground of a distinction between the feelings and the emotions which he makes in the beginning; but we find no ground offered for the distinction when made, and it is not heard of in the course of the work. Still our criticism is of what is left undone, rather than of what is done. The sin is more of omission than of commission.

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*Ecclesiastical Law and Rules of Evidence, with Special Reference to the Jurisprudence of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By HON. WILLIAM J. HENRY and WILLIAM L. HARRIS, D.D., LL.D. 8vo., pp. 511. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

Years ago, when he was younger than he is now, and filled but the chair of a western professorship, we pronounced Dr. Har-

ris one of the most judicial minds of the Church. He was the proper churchman to be associated with an eminent jurist to furnish a volume on our Ecclesiastical Law. We hope in our next number to furnish a full review of the work from a professional and amply competent hand.

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### *History, Biography, and Topography.*

*William Lloyd Garrison and his Times; or, Sketches of the Antislavery Movement in America, and of the Man who was its Founder and Moral Leader.* By OLIVER JOHNSON. With an Introduction by JOHN G. WHITTIER. 12mo., pp. 432. Boston: B. B. Russell & Co. New York: Charles Drew. 1880.

Mr. Johnson is a whole-souled devotee. He is both a devout worshiper of his fetish, and a cordial hater of all who bow not the knee at the same shrine. It was the lot of the Editor of this Quarterly to interrupt the full flow of his commemoration of his hero in the "New York Tribune," and so it is said Editor's doom to be victimized in the book in the best Garrisonian style. In our articles in the "Tribune" we fully admitted the great merits of Mr. Garrison's character; but we showed the points which made him a defective leader. We quoted Mr. Johnson's declaration in 1856 that this Editor was a genuine antislavery man, and traced our course, showing that, though a true antislavery man, we ever kept aloof, from beginning to end, from Mr. G. and his peculiarities. We showed that our own Church, although not by any means blameless in the concessions she made to slavery, yet she had an antislavery history of her own of which she was reasonably proud. Mr. Johnson was treated courteously throughout, and in most of his articles was courteous in reply. Yet the Garrisonianism could not but leak out, and when he made the remark that Dr. Whedon's posterity would be ashamed of him he uttered a mendacity that sunk him below the level of decent discussion.

In our article written professedly from memory, away from documents, at the sea-shore, we said that we voted for the antislavery candidate "somewhere about 1834." Mr. Johnson has since examined the files of "Zion's Herald," in Boston, and found that in 1835 this editor charged that the movement would bring politics into the Church, and finds it hard to believe our statement that we voted the antislavery ticket in thirty-four. But we did not say we did so vote at that date. An obituary of Mr. Gillette, the anti-slavery candidate, published some few weeks

since in the papers, puts the date, as our present recollections are, at 1837; which, in a recollective period of between forty and fifty years, is, as we said, somewhere about 1834. There was no inconsistency in our opposing the bringing the slavery discussion into the Church in 1835, and our voting as a citizen in 1837 for either a Whig, a Democratic, or an Antislavery candidate. In either case we doubtless deemed that our political suffrage need not be brought into ecclesiastical discussion. Later in the history, indeed, when slavery itself invaded Church as well as State to render herself supreme, we did our best to rally both State and Church against her.

Mr. Johnson informs us jubilantly that a new edition of Mr. Matlack's history of the antislavery movement will soon appear. We trust it will. It was prepared by Mr. M. with our cordial approbation; and its manuscript lies on our editorial table, and it will be recommended to our house for publication. It is written by as true and as early an antislavery man as Mr. Johnson, but by a man whose sufferings as an antislavery man never drove him into semi-infidelity. It will be found perfectly free from Garrison worship. Mr. Garrison, so far as we have noted, is but twice mentioned; the first time with a disapprobation, and the second as a subject of a brief biographical item. Of the comparative antislaveryism of Methodism among the denominations, Mr. J. will find himself very conclusively contradicted. Mr. Matlack candidly states the views of the anti-abolitionists, very much in the style of impartial history and not of a partisan pamphlet.

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*Civil Service in Great Britain.* A History of Abuses and Reforms, and their Bearing upon American Politics. By DORMAN B. EATON. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880. 8vo., pp. 469.

Mr. Eaton was chairman of the Civil Service Commission under President Grant, and has written this work after more than a year's residence in England, under request from President Hayes. It is a full survey of the history of patronage from the time of the Conqueror, when all England was divided up as spoils among the victors, down to the time when competitive examinations conferred office according to merit, to the destruction of patronage, under the laws of a wise civil service system. As a historical work, it is written with an ability, and possesses an interest in its narrative, entitling it to take rank with the best histories of our day; and its value as a repository of facts upon a great living question gives it especial claims to the public attention.



The great value of the work is that it shows the reform to be a positive reality. It is no schoolman's dream, no theorist's romance. How the work was opposed and was obliged to struggle without precedent to guide its way, how it gradually conquered and became a fixed system, what that system is, how it secures its invaluable results, are all described. Of the nature and method of the reform there can be no doubt. What is wanted, is the diffusion of information through the public mind, and the arousing of the public will to action. For this purpose we want another complete volume. Mr. Eaton, or some other competent man, should give us a history of American political patronage from the foundation of our government to the present hour. The usual statement is that General Jackson began the spoils system, which has ever since spread corruption and debasement through our American politics. It was under him that Secretary Marcy proclaimed the sentiment that "to the victor belongs the spoils," and our elections have ever since been, to a large degree, battles for the seizure and distribution of the plunder—that plunder being the salaries paid from the people's pockets for what ought to be the people's service.

Under General Grant the reform was inaugurated, and when first elected he no doubt intended to emancipate the government from the sway of professional politics. But the "strong man" proved weak in the professional hands; he tamely surrendered, and his sin has been his punishment. For with unimpeachable personal honesty it was his sad penalty to have an administration overwhelmingly disgraced by official corruptions. President Hayes proved stronger than the "strong man." Some tangible reforms have been established under his administration. We wish we could say that they promised to be as permanent as they are tangible. But neither of the prominent candidates named on either side suggest any hope that any trace of the improvements will stand against the rush of the full tide of public corruption.

It is the stupendous mass of spoils at stake in our pending presidential election that creates the great danger. The nation is divided into two great hostile camps, ready to spring to battle for millions of official salaries. This enormous prize carries the strife down from the highest to the lowest, and from the center to the extreme boundaries. It is for this reason that violence, trading, and bribery are unscrupulously practiced, and bloodshed and war, ready to carry carnage into our public streets, are now being threatened. Our republic cannot stand under this system,

grown to such stupendous dimensions. Take away the spoils system, make subordinate offices depend upon tried ability, irrespective of political opinions, and four fifths of the violence of our politics will be diminished.

How can this reform be established? Not by the political profession itself, for that is now created by the spoils system. And here Mr. Eaton's book is eminently instructive. It shows us the way. Let information be diffused through the public mind. Let the moral sentiment of the country speak. Let our religious press open its columns. Nay, as matter of true moral character, it is fit topic for the pulpit. Above all, let the "independent voter" assert, maintain, and exert his unalienable right to "scratch." The caucus and the conclave are terribly afraid of that "scratch." And well they may be, for their corrupt life is very liable to be "scratched" out of existence.

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*Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By Rev. J. M. REID, D. D. With Maps and Illustrations. 12mo. Vol. I, pp. 462. Vol. II, pp. 471. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

The Church will receive with a hearty welcome this beautiful narrative of our missionary history. It is written in the fresh idiomatic style of our faithful Missionary Secretary. It begins with the first movement of our missionary life, in 1819, and ends at the hour of writing. In its series of engravings and maps it furnishes an interesting view of the fields where our beloved missionaries are toiling, and aids us to be in spirit with them amid their toils. It refreshes the soul to be able to survey, in brief but full compass, our past missionary work, and the survey cannot but be effective in animating the Church with the missionary spirit. Perhaps it will be a new fact to some sonorous Garrisonian declaimers against the American Churches that the first of the foreign missionary enterprises of our Church was our mission to Africa, to give civilization and Christianity to the negroes. That great philanthropic movement, the American Colonization Society, led the way. Not under its auspices, yet adopting the field opened by the pioneer agents of that noble society, our Church sent to the African shores some of the most heroic missionaries of our history. The names of Samuel J. Mills and of Ashman will ever be memorable in the work of the Colonization Society; and John Seys, if not rightly styled "the father of our Church in Liberia," was a model missionary. But rarely has the missionary martyr spirit shone more purely than in the career

of Melville B. Cox. He started for this field with full impression that he would there be entombed; and asked that his epitaph should be, "Let a thousand fall before Africa be given up!" We hope soon to furnish a full review of this standard book.

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*The Logic of Christian Evidences.* By G. FREDERICK WRIGHT. Andover: Warren T. Draper. 12mo., pp. 312. 1880.

Mr. Wright is one of the editors of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and is so distinguished for his mastery of both science and theology as to render him an able mediator between them both. He is an able advocate for Darwinism, and with a calm boldness has defended that theory in extended articles in that evangelical Quarterly. He has even furnished to its pages an ingenious article showing the accordance of Darwinism with Calvinism; an affinity which we are not inclined just now to controvert. We have no controversy with thinkers who are able to hold the new Evolution in combination with Christianity, but would like to have them tell how the harmonization can be clearly shown. Mr. Wright, so far as we recollect, is clearer in his reconciliation of Darwinism with theism and with Calvinism than with Genesis. The difficulty is less theological than exegetical.

The present little volume deals briefly and acutely with Christian evidences. It is divided into Three Parts. The title of the book fits most precisely to the First Part. Here he examines the logic of science, and shows its accord with the logic of Christian evidence. The Second Part discusses the evidences of theism and of the supernaturalism of Christianity. The Third Part shows the logical conclusiveness of the proofs of historical Christianity. It is a very compact volume, and we should think that even a Thomas Paine would rise from its perusal with the consciousness that it furnishes a hard nut for the skeptical hammer to crack.

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*Die Deutsch-Amerikanische Kanzel. Eine Auswahl Predigten von den berühmtesten Kanzelrednern der Englischen Sprache, in's Deutsche übersetzt.* Von FR. KOPP. Nebst Einer Anzahl in deutscher Sprache gehaltener Vorträge. 8vo., pp. 586. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Our German brother, Dr. Kopp, has here given a selection of sermons in a volume of goodly magnitude, from various authors, translated from the English, with an addition of a number of original specimens. It is dedicated to the venerated Dr. Nast, with a beautiful frontispiece likeness of him. It commences with a preface by Dr. Leibhart, and a preface to the second

edition by the author. We have, then, a historic sketch of German Methodism and its grounds. Sermons are given by Bishop Edward Thomson, Spurgeon, Talmage, J. P. Newman, Joseph Beaumont, Charles H. Fowler, Eddy, Bishop Janes, George Whitefield, Beecher, Bishop Simpson, William M'Kinley, De La Matyr, Punshon, Bishop Foster, Bishop Ames, Moody, and President Foss. This will be an invaluable volume for our German ministry and people, and for all who read the Teuton dialect.

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*The Illustrated History of Methodism in Great Britain and America, from the Days of the Wesleys to the Present Time.* By Rev. W. H. DANIELS, A.M. With an Introduction by Bishop HARRIS, D.D., LL.D. Illustrated with 250 Engravings, Maps, and Charts. 8vo., pp. 784. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis: Hitchcock & Walden. 1880.

Wesley and historical Methodism, like Napoleon and the wars of the empire, appear in countless shapes, the most popular of which, and so most widely diffused, perhaps, is this now presented form. While written in the hearty spirit of a true son of the great movement, Mr. Daniels' book is remarkable for its breadth and catholicity. It may be read with satisfaction by all branches of American Methodism, and even English, and wherever the great movement has rolled its waves. We learn with satisfaction that it is having a rapid sale.

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#### *Educational.*

*A Sanskrit Grammar*, including both the Classical Language and the older Dialects of Veda and Brahmana. By WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

Scholarship has achieved nothing more remarkable in the last decade than the helps it has perfected for the study of Sanskrit. Few of the present generation of classic scholars, born to the luxury of Passow and Freund—where, for the trouble of examination, one may find all considerable difficulties, even in unusual authors, grappled with for him—accustomed, moreover, to texts emended and smoothened to a degree that probably not seldom simplifies the language originally written—can imagine, unless initiated, the discouragements encountered by the student of the Vedas in 1870. The clue of traditional interpretation which with the ancient glosses preserves for us the meaning of almost every word in the Greek and Roman classics, is largely wanting to the native interpreters of these priceless monuments of the early Aryans. The differences between the Sanskrit of the Rig,

the oldest of the Vedas, and the later or classical Sanskrit, have been well likened to those which separate the speech of Chaucer from modern English. The many words lost to tradition during the period of so great changes the native commentators make but the clumsiest efforts to supply—efforts which seldom amount to more than blind conjecture. The task of restoring these missing links by searching out and identifying their corresponding forms with meanings known, in the other Indo-European languages, had been going on quietly in a few philological “workshops,” chiefly German, for almost a generation; but there was no easy lexicographical access to the results of this patient labor. Each Vedic student was forced, to a greater or less degree, to be his own comparative philologist, and needed a scholarship broad enough to construct for himself lost meanings by identification with words not only in Latin and Greek, but also Gothic, Lithuanian, and Celtic. Of dictionaries then extant Bopp’s “Glossary,” with which every body began to read Sanskrit, was good through the *Hitopadesha* and *Bhagavadgita*. Beyond this there were available only Wilson and Benfey—the mere beginnings of a scientific lexicography.

Of grammatical helps there was as great a dearth. The facts of the language were still too imperfectly known to allow the general assertions of which the complete grammar must consist. The methods of the authors who had ventured upon the task of setting in order the facts that were known of the Sanskrit, were often exceedingly faulty. They were seldom content to make statements of what they and other students had observed of Sanskrit usages in their reading, but suffered themselves to copy, often extensively, from the books of Panini, and other native treatises—marvels of learning and confusion. These would be proper sources from which to draw, were the whole system of Brahmanic learning less abstract, and at all concrete and practical. But the zeal and patience of pundit scholarship is largely devoted to the task of fixing what would be the proper form, if this or that rare, or perhaps impossible, word should ever need to be written, as many as half a dozen rules or exceptions, sometimes wrought with great labor into metrical form, being required, in some instances, for a single root. Of texts, however, there had begun to be available most required by common readers, and excellently edited; the greatest need of all having been supplied by Aufrecht’s edition of the “*Rig Veda*,” in 1863.

But the years of patient labor that had been given by a few



enthusiastic scholars to the study of Sanskrit were nearing their autumn of fruition. When the great "St. Petersburg Lexicon" under the editorship of Boehtlingk and Roth had considerably passed the point where its accumulated *lieferungen* might aid the scholar, the very excellent compendious dictionary of Monier Williams, Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, appeared in 1872. Grassman's glossary to the "Rig Veda" followed, to which a complete metric translation was soon added. With the final completion, also, of the great "St. Petersburg Dictionary," in 1875, the last important need of professional Sanscritists had been supplied, while the lack of a grammar for beginners, conceived and executed upon like scientific philological principles, seemed as unlikely as ever to draw off from the labor of original research any one capable of preparing the work.

But the enterprise of a German publishing house was destined to be the means of providing the needed treatise. Messrs. Breitkopf & Härtel, of Leipzig, had projected a series of manuals introductory to the study of several of the Indo-European languages, and were fortunate enough to induce Prof. Whitney, during his visit to Germany, in 1875, to prepare the volume devoted to Sanskrit. The work has been more or less in hand since then, and the past year was spent by Prof. Whitney in Germany for the purpose of supervising its issue from the press in both its English and German forms. This volume, somewhat larger than the nature of the series would have led us to expect, (the first volume, "Lautphysiologie," filling only 150 pages, while this, the second of the series, 486,) was out in time for the first semester of German lectures.

The first remark one is prompted to make after examining the volume is, It is *complete*. So much is yet to be determined by further and more minute investigation of Sanskrit usage, that one is surprised to see how much specific treatment Prof. Whitney has been able to include in it. Thus we have the accent definitely treated, and for the first time in such a work, with reference to all cases of its occurrence. It will be, perhaps, remembered that Prof. Whitney was one of the first Orientalists to treat of the Sanskrit accent, and his paper on this subject, presented to the American Oriental Society as long ago as 1855, is still authority among scholars. Syntax is also treated so far as materials admit, and, for the present, properly under each class of words in the etymological part of the book. More than all, we have all forms treated historically, with a fullness which will

prepare the observant learner for later studies in comparative grammar. Prof. Whitney has been fortunate in being able to command the labors of several industrious scholars, who have placed at his service the results of years of labor, particularly upon roots and Vedic and Brahmana forms. This mass of material, together with that of Prof. Whitney's own collating, has made it possible to follow a historic plan, beginning with Vedic and descending through the Brahmana to the later classic forms and usages. The method is rigidly scientific, or inductive, nothing being admitted upon authority, but only as established by the observed facts of the language. The whole has been wrought into excellent shape, and exhibits a rare example of sound, scholarly judgment and good taste. Of course, it puts aside all other manuals for the early study of Sanskrit, and by its unexpected fullness of treatment and embodiment of rare forms will serve also as a work of reference for many years.

In this close and manifold approximation to a perfect grammar Prof. Whitney has achieved, probably, the most useful, certainly the most difficult, labor of his scholarship. We have long been proud of having in him a scholar who is acknowledged by themselves to rival the great philologists of the Old World; and no less are we proud of one so loyal to truth, so impatient of all pretense and sham, and, though so eminent among his countrymen, so modest and unassuming.

The great result is, that the book makes immeasurably easier the task of approaching this most difficult language, and this when some knowledge of it is fast becoming indispensable for the common classic instructor. The time is undoubtedly near when the study of Latin and Greek will be put to its most natural use, and the privilege of knowing them more highly prized, as affording the opportunity of understanding the genesis and history of our modern languages. With "Comparative Philology" thus admitted to the curricula of our colleges and higher academies, Sanskrit must have a place forward among the studies that shall prepare the instructors, as now the teachers in the German gymnasia, for their work. And it cannot be long before it will be necessary, also, for the professor of English literature who makes any pretensions to knowledge in his department, to have studied the elements of that language which most nearly represents the speech of our earliest Japhetic ancestry. What light Sanskrit can throw upon anomalies in English, Mr. Oliphant has well shown in his volume on "Old and Middle English." Indeed,

it is to the historic student of English, especially, we believe, that a knowledge of Sanscrit is of the greatest practical benefit. s.

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*Literature and Fiction.*

*An English Version of the Younger, or Prose Edda.* With an Introduction, Notes, Vocabulary, and Index. By RASMUS B. ANDERSON. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. Price \$2 00.

Professor Anderson thus adds to his growing series upon Norse themes an important volume; for the Elder and Younger Edda are the basis of all we know or can know of the early Scandinavian social life and history. There is, indeed, but little material for the study of the second great Aryan immigration apart from what the Icelanders have embalmed in their Eddas and sagas. Of the progress of the Teutons westward we know from Cæsar that they had reached the Rhine half a century before Christ. Tacitus gleaned a few characteristics of this strange people from Rome's military contest with them; but, except the invaluable fragment of the translation of the Bible made into Gothic by Bishop Ulfilas in 384, we have no trace or record of the restless barbarians who obliterated the power of Rome and rejuvenated Europe. But far in the North the legend of Beowulf was saved to us in England, though emended by Christian hands, while it remained for the *ultima thule*, the far-off Iceland, to preserve until modern times the speech of the Northern Goths, or Norsemen, almost unaltered, and in it the treasures of legend and mythology on which its history and philology depend. The Eddas are the religious books of the Norse; hence this volume of the Younger Edda is mainly occupied with their mythology. Our author does not lay claim to original work, but to have collected and adapted material from the best authorities, and to furnish thus the most complete exposition of the Edda yet made in any language. The volume is surely not less than its pretensions. We cannot but regret that the author's enthusiasm has led him to confound the scientific interest of the Eddas with a literary value they cannot be held to possess. We should be surprised if the book "charms" a single reader not in some sense a student of Northern subjects. It is impossible that it should be otherwise. The crude legends and sagas of the Norsemen never please even their direct descendants until recast by a Fryxell or a Tegnér. But the book will edify if it does not charm, and should add much to what we are glad to believe is a growing interest in Northern themes. s.

*Periodicals.*

*Church Extension Annual, including the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Board of Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the year 1879.*  
Church Extension Rooms, 1026 Arch-street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Says Chaplain McCabe: "I can secure the erection of a church every day if I only have \$250 to spend in each case." Thereupon the response of the Church should be, "You shall have \$250 every day in the year." The map in this annual is an outline of the entire United States, with a blue cross to indicate a Church aided by this society. Clusters of blue crosses mark particular sections, and a lonely cross or two gleams up in others. There is a nice little wilderness of crosses in the North-west, covering a large area in Iowa, southern Minnesota, and southern Wisconsin, extending southward to cover eastern Nebraska and Kansas. In the South there is a cluster in northern Tennessee, north-western Georgia, in south-eastern Texas, with a sprinkling through most of the Southern States. There are three crosses in Florida, and a lonely cross in Mississippi. Our faithful secretary, Dr. Kynett, reports that there have been four quadrenniums of the existence of the society; the first a period of doubt and danger, the second of completed organization, the third of strengthening and growth, the fourth of maturity, prosperity, and secure permanence. It is becoming, and should become, one of the mighty arms of Church aggression on the domains of sin and Satan.

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*Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the National Association of Local Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States.* Held in the North Second-street Methodist Episcopal Church, Troy, N. Y., October 18-21, 1879. With an Appendix containing Reports, Memoirs, etc.

The date of this annual meeting of the "National Association of Local Preachers" indicates that it has passed the period of immature youth. Its claim to a national name was sustained by membership from as far south as Baltimore and Kentucky. An able address was delivered by the president, Rev. Dr. Wheeler, editor of the "Methodist." Dr. Wheeler well argued that it was wise in the Church to maintain, in her local preachers, a body of organized lay workers, instead of being infested with a lot of irresponsible "evangelists, who are little better than tramps." He recalls to memory the local preachers memorable in our history—as Embury, Webb, Thomas E. Bond—and reminds us of numbers of living, efficient workers. He pleads, loyally, for a fuller recognition of the brave guerrilla corps by the Church mili-

tant. An essay by T. A. Goodwin, on "The Coming Local Preacher," was put on file for the good-coming time when the organized auxiliaries would be a still more efficient aid to the regular army.

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*Twelfth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1879.* 8vo. Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Print. 1880.

It is the school-master who is doing the noblest work in solving the negro problem healthfully for both races. The way to raise the negro is not to force him up to a position, but to furnish him with the qualification by which he can place himself there. We rejoice, therefore, that Dr. Rust is able to report a prosperous year. He presents a full view of the educational institutions that are promising well for the future. The Exodus, so far as it has extended, will have rather favorable effects than otherwise, as tending to produce efforts for a better and fairer adjustment between races. It is yet too small a movement on comparison with the great whole to produce much injury to Dr. Rust's enterprise. The addresses by Dr. Curry and Bishop Peck are able and not accusatory in spirit against any portion of the Southern people. The speakers take no pains to produce the impression that the society is aggressive against the best interests of the Southern section or of Southern Methodism.

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#### *Foreign Theological Publications.*

*Roma Sotteranea, Die Römischen Katakomben.* Eine Darstellung der älteren und neueren Forschungen, besonders derjenigen de Rossi's. Bearbeitet von Dr. FRANZ X. KRAUS. Zweite Auflage. Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, Freiburg in Breisgau. 1879. 9

The Germans have been behind the English in the special department of research in the catacombs. This work is the most thorough one produced by them, and has been prepared after laborious personal examination, and by the study of such authors as De Rossi, Northcote, and Brownlow. The treatment is broad and thorough. The introduction is after the German usage, which is a *résumé* of the literature of the whole subject. The discovery of the catacombs was made in 1578, and the literature has grown from a few fragmentary notices to a broad and interesting archæological science. The first students of subterranean Rome were Pomponius, Leto, Baronius, Ciaconi, De Winghe, and L'Hereux, and they died before grasping the mag-



nitude of the subject which fascinated them. The work of Kraus marks the progress of the science through these three intervening centuries. After the introduction, the general divisions are: Book First, "The Origin of the Catacombs." This contains a general description of the catacombs, the political and social condition of the first Roman Christians, Roman law and usages, with reference to burials, and the beginning of the catacombs. Book Second treats the "History of the Catacombs," giving their condition in the first and second centuries; then from the beginning of the third century to the toleration of Constantine, in 312; then to the plundering of Rome by the Goths in 410; and then to the oblivion of the catacombs for a long period of centuries. The Third Book is employed entirely on the most important catacomb, that of St. Callistus. Book Fourth discusses "Ancient Christian Art," its symbols, allegorical images, liturgical tracery, and sarcophagi. The Fifth Book is occupied with the construction and development of the catacombs. Book Sixth is a full description of the inscriptions; Seventh, of the contents of the graves of the catacombs; and Eighth, a general survey of all the Roman subterranean life. The illustrations of the work of Kraus are of a high order, and are the best reproduction of the exceedingly costly work of De Rossi which has appeared. In addition to these, the author, by his living in Rome and having access to all the antiquities, and especially by his intercourse with De Rossi himself, has given many inscriptions and diagrams which had never before been presented to the public. These illustrations are of two kinds; those on wood, distributed with the letter-press throughout the work, and those in colors, on large plates, at the end of the volume. The last of these is a full descriptive map of the whole of subterranean Rome, as large and full as Murray's or Baedeker's map of the city above it. The work closes with a rich glossary, explanatory of all the inscriptions contained in the catacombs, and a copious index of the whole work. We should like to see this book of Kraus translated. It has something of the coloring which would naturally come from the Church of which he is a member, but it is of such scope and scholarship that one can readily overlook the author's confessional standpoint. To the honor of the American Church it must be added that this important study has not been forgotten by us. Withrow's work is a classic, and it is a matter of congratulation that his excellent book on the catacombs has been issued by *our* Book Concern.

*Ursprung und erste Entwicklung der Kirche Christi, in Vorträgen über die Apostelgeschichte des Lucas.* Von Dr. H. V. Andrea. Frankfurt-au-Main: Heyder & Zimmer.

Dr. Andrea is a layman, who has devoted his entire leisure to theological study. He is known to Americans through his work on Job, but the present work is the ripest fruit of his busy pen. His plan is to give the argument of each section of the Acts of the Apostles, and then to illustrate and elucidate it. He does not introduce textual criticism, or broaden his pages with copious foot-notes or exegetical terms, but aims at a popular exposition of the book. He seems to have examined the whole department of exegesis on Acts, to have grouped the leading thoughts around a common point, and to aim at a forcible presentation of the general ideas of the writer. The work consists of fifty-eight lectures, each with a general title. We then have a genealogical table of the Asmonean and Idumean families, a complete table of chronology of the apostolical period, and an exceeding beautiful colored map of the missionary tours of Paul. A full index closes the work. The value of Dr. Andrea's important contribution to biblical study consists in its combination of thorough scholarship and perspicuous and popular style. We hope he will yield still more such fruit, on other New Testament books.

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*Miscellaneous.*

*The World of Prayer; or Prayer in Relation to Personal Religion.* By Dr. D. G. MONRAD. Translated from the Fourth German Edition by the Rev. J. S. BANKS. 12mo., pp. 239. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879.

*The Interpreter's House; or, Sermons to Children.* By WILLIAM WILBERFORCE NEWTON. 12mo., pp. 349. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1880.

*Fifty Bible Reasons for Continuing a Methodist Stated, Proved, and Illustrated.* By N. B. COOKSEY. Small 18mo., pp. 128. Cincinnati: Printed at the Western Methodist Book Concern for the Author. 1879.

*The Chautauqua Text Books.* Paper Covers. Small 18mo.—No. 16. *Roman History.* By J. H. VINCENT, D.D. Pp. 80.—No. 17. *Roger Ascham and John Sturm.* By W. F. PHELPS, A.M. Pp. 53.—No. 18. *Christian Evidences.* By J. H. VINCENT, D.D. Pp. 60.—No. 19. *The Book of Books.* By J. M. FREEMAN, D.D. Pp. 64.—No. 20. *The Chautauqua Hand Book.* By J. H. VINCENT, D.D. Pp. 61.—No. 21. *American History.* By J. L. HERLBT, A.M. Pp. 76. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879, 1880.

*A History of Our Own Times, from the Ascension of Queen Victoria to the Berlin Congress.* By JUSTIN MCCARTHY. In two Volumes. Vol. I. 12mo., pp. 559. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

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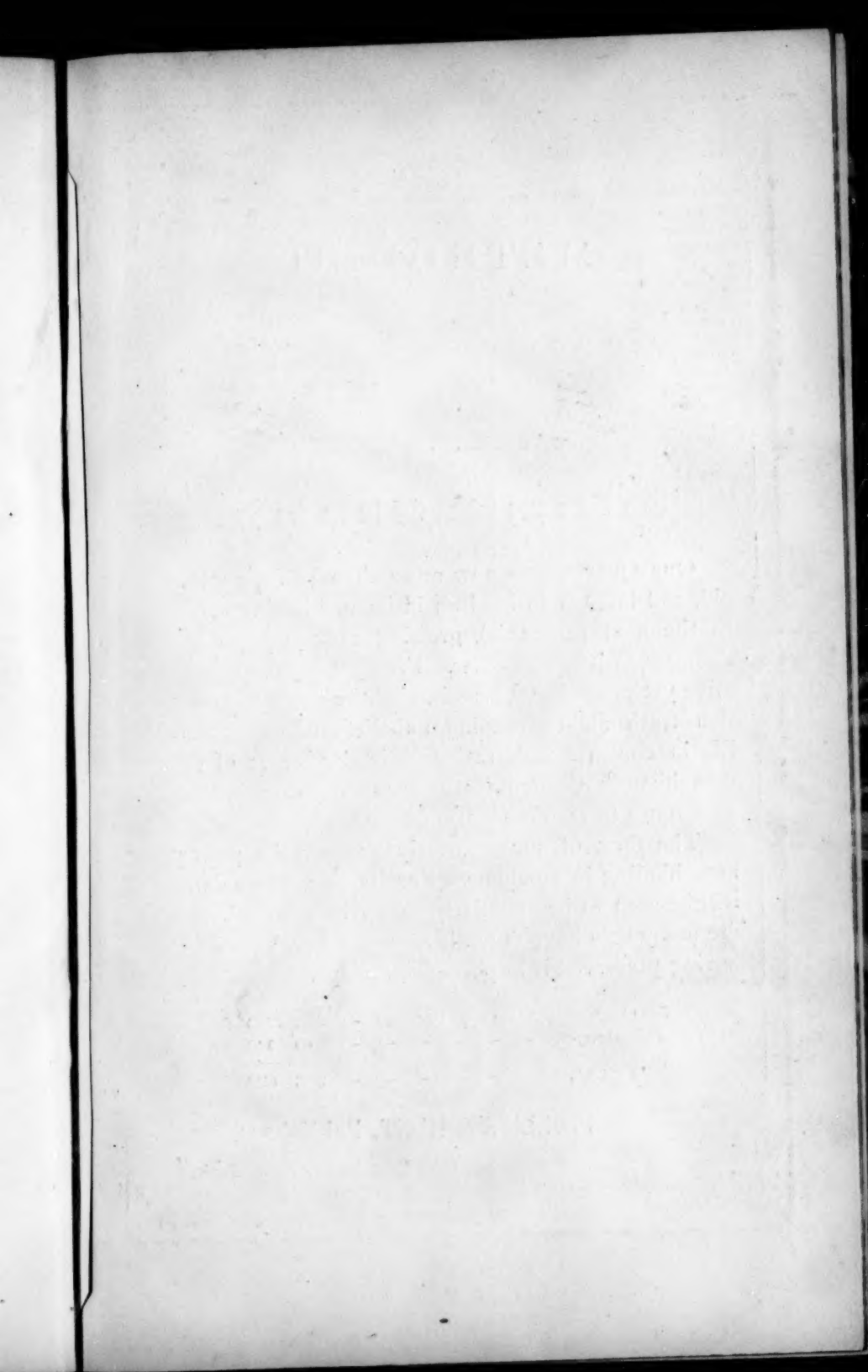
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